CUK.H00538-133-675597

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

Established 1844

310.5
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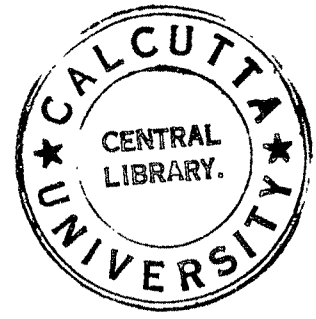
THIRD SERIES

Volume LXXIX



APRIL—JUNE

1941

PUBLISHED BY THE

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

CRCU 247

First Series	...	...	*1844*
New Series	...	...	*1913*
Third Series (Monthly)	...	...	*1921*

GS 1559

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Volume LXXIX : Numbers 1—3

APRIL—JUNE, 1941

CONTENTS

133

PAGE

onvocation Address
I. The Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D. i
II. The Hon'ble Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque, C.I.E. xvi
III. His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E. xxvi
akespearean Puzzle—Endeavours After its Solution—XVII ... 1
Sir P. C. Ray and Bhabesh Chandra Ray, M.Sc.
engali Culture as a System of Mutual Acculturations ... 6
Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar
ow Egypt is Governed 15
Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L.
ranscendentalism in the Political Writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge 33
Mr. Tahir Jamil, M.A.
n Enquiry into Idealism in Hindu Marriage 45
Krishnagopal Goswami, Sastri, M.A.
enin and Trotsky 49
Kamalesh Banerjee
lass Education in India 62
Amalesh Ghosh, M.A., B.T.

Mahatma Gandhi's Interpretation of the Doctrine of Satya-Ahimsa 93
H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D
A Nation in Making: The Unity of India 109
Tripurary Chakravarti, M.A.
Forces of Modern Panjabi Poetry 130
Prof. Charanjit Singh Bindra, M.A., LL.B.

PAGE

An Essay in the Logic of Aesthetics 135
Terence White
What is Surrealism ? 149
S. N. Ray, M.A., Ph.D.
Gestalt Psychology and Literary Criticism 155
Amiyakumar Sen, M.A.
Some Currents of Hindi and English Literature 167
Lalita Prosad Sukul, M.A.

Gandhiji's Conception of Applied Christianity under Modern Conditions 193
H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
The Equations of World-Economy 205
Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Dr. *p.c.*
A Neo-Vedantic Conception of Reality 229
Mahendra Nath Sirkar
Mass Education in India 237
Amalesh Ghosh, M.A., B.T.
Military Education 245
G. M. Jadav
Hindu Contribution to Music 275
Tarun Ghosal

News and Views 73, 177, 267
Miscellany 75, 180, 270
Reviews and Notices of Books 80, 183, 274
Ourselves 86, 189, 277

PAGE

Azizul Huque, C.I.E., The Hon'ble Sir Mohammad
Convocation Address xvi

Banerjee, Kamalesh
Lenin and Trotsky 49

Bindra, Prof. Charanjit Singh, M.A., LL.B.
Forces of Modern Panjabi Poetry 130

Chakravarti, Tripurary, M.A.
A Nation in Making: The Unity of India 109

Ghosal, Tarun
Hindu Contribution to Music 257

Ghosh, Amalesh, M.A., B.T.
Mass Education in India 62, 237

Ghosh, Prof. Ramesh Chandra, M.A., B.L.
How Egypt is Governed 15

Goswami, Krishnagopal, Sastri, M.A.
An Enquiry into Idealism in Hindu Marriage 45

Herbert, His Excellency Sir John Arthur, G.C.I.E.
Convocation Address xxvi

Jadav, G.M.
Military Education 245

Mookerjee, Dr. H. C., M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.
Mahatma Ghandhi's Interpretation of the Doctrine of Satya-Ahimsa 93
Gandhi's Conception of Applied Christianity Under Modern Condition 193

Ray, Sir P. C., Kt. and Ray, Bhabesh Chandra, M.Sc.
Sakespearean Puzzle—Endēavours after its Solution—XVII... 1

Ray, S. N., M.A., Ph.D.
What is Surrealism ? 149

Sarkar, Dr. Benoykumar
Bengali Culture as a System of Mutual Acculturations ... 6
The Equations of World.Economy 205

PAGE

Sapru, The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur, P.C., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D.

Convocation Address i

Sirkar, Mahendranath

A Neo-Vedantic Conception of Reality 229

Sen, Amiyakumar, M.A.

Gestalt Psychology and Literary Criticism 155

Sukul, Lalita Prosad, M.A.

Some currents of Hindi and English Literature... ... 167

Tahil-Jamil, M.

Transcendentalism with Political Writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge 33

White, Terence

An Essay with Logic of Aesthetics 135

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CONVOCATION ADDRESS

I

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU,
P.C., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE, GRADUATES OF THE YEAR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is in no conventional sense but with a very genuine feeling that I thank you for inviting me to address a Convocation meeting of the premier University of our country. The request of your Vice-Chancellor that I should come here was irresistible. Much as I should like to observe a discreet silence on some of the questions which are at present agitating the public mind, and thus refrain from adding to the volume of confusion and discord which unhappily is disfiguring our public life, I find myself at times compelled by circumstances to appear on the public platform which, I confess, has no attraction for me. I shall, therefore, appeal to your indulgence and forgiveness for a little while when I shall be intruding myself upon your attention.

I have just said that the Calcutta University is the premier University of India and when in the next few pages I shall tell you what I have all my life felt about Calcutta and this University, I shall beg you to give me some credit for sincerity and not to assume that I am saying all this to flatter your vanity or to repay your hospitality. As a young man reading at Agra more than fifty years

ago I came under the influence of that new school of thought in the social and political life of the country, the source and centre of which was Calcutta. Several of my professors and teachers were men from Bengal. Indeed, it is true to say that in those days the intellectual life of the United Provinces was not only moulded by Bengalis but was completely under the domination of Bengal. The youth of my province in those days derived their enthusiasm about social reform, in the limited sense in which that word is used in India, from Ram Mohun Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen, while their imagination in politics was fired by the never-to-be-forgotten oratory of Surendra Nath Banerjea, Lal Mohan Ghose, Ananda Mohan Bose and Kali Churn Banurji.

The period of formal separation commenced with the establishment of the Allahabad University in 1887. I say 'formal' because, although it was considered necessary for the growing needs of the United Provinces to establish a separate and independent University at Allahabad, yet it did not mean the termination of the influence of Calcutta, for it continued in full vigour for a considerable period after its establishment. Even today when the United Provinces can boast of five Universities, Bengal is fairly represented on the teaching staffs of several of them. The names of your distinguished Vice-Chancellors, professors, scientists, historians, doctors, judges, lawyers, politicians and journalists are held in respect and esteem all over the United Provinces. If you are proud of Rabindra Nath Tagore, so are we, for, though it may be our misfortune to miss the grace and charm of his language in original, yet we are by no means unfamiliar with the depth of his feeling, the purity of his thought and the spirituality

of his poetry. I do not wish to suggest or say that in the development of our intellectual and cultural life we had no heritage of our own to serve as a nucleus, for it is a fact that the indigenous culture of the United Provinces was already rich and varied—the result of a confluence of two streams, the source of one of which was at Benares and of the other at Delhi and Lucknow. I am, however, free to confess that the debt we owe to Bengal is by no means inconsiderable and it is certainly greater than that we owe to any other Province or any other University in India.

I am in no sense of the term an educationist. I should, therefore, be going beyond my depth if I were to undertake to advise you as to what changes and reforms you should bring about in the constitution of your University or in its internal working. I believe this task was entrusted more than once to two bodies of learned men, once in the time of Lord Curzon and again in the time of Lord Chelmsford. Much wisdom may lie buried in the tomes left to you by the Calcutta University Commission, which have, to a certain extent, influenced the decisions of other Universities. Among the 33 Vice-Chancellors whom you have had since 1857 when this University was established there are names of men like Henry Sumner Maine, William Markby, William Hunter, Arthur Hobhouse, Gooroo Dass Banerjee, which would shed lustre on any University in the world, but there is one other name also which, while no less illustrious than any one of the names I have just mentioned, means to this University a great deal more than any other name in the list of your Vice-Chancellors and that name is Asutosh Mookerjee, for, so long as he was connected with this University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was Calcutta University

and Calcutta University was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. It was one of my rarest privileges in life to have come into contact with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, both at Calcutta and at Allahabad. There were so many sides to his life, so varied were his interests, so profound was his learning and so towering was his personality, that it is difficult for me to say which I admired most, but there is no doubt that the master-passion of his life was the Calcutta University. It is literally true, therefore, to say that in its period of adolescence the Calcutta University perceptibly bore the impress of his personality. In human affairs a great personality cannot escape controversy and it was inevitable that Sir Asutosh's personality, translated in terms of his work at and for this University, should have raised some controversies. Controversies, however, arise and die; the spirit of the worker lives. That, I believe, is true of Sir Asutosh's work in this University.

One of the remarkable features of this University, which distinguishes it from many others in India, is that from an early date it has worked for the establishment of a number of Professorships and has succeeded in a remarkable degree in getting them founded by generous donors. Among the founders of these Professorships the place of pride must be given to the honoured name of Prasunno Coomar Tagore, who, by his Will dated the 10th October, 1862, bequeathed to the University a monthly allowance of Rs. 1000/- for the purpose of founding a Professorship of Law to be called the Tagore Law Professorship. A cursory glance at the list of Tagore Law Professors will disclose the names of some of the greatest jurists and lawyers not merely of Calcutta but also of other parts of India, and not merely of India but also

of England and other countries, *e.g.*, Sir Frederick Pollock, Sir William Holdsworth, Dr. Garner and Professor Morgan; and if I may venture to refer to some Calcutta names without making any invidious distinction and without referring to those among them who are happily with us, at the head of them stand the names of Dr. (afterwards Sir) Rash Behary Ghose, Dr. (afterwards Sir) Gooroo Dass Banerjee, the Right Honourable Ameer Ali and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee himself. These are honoured names in the annals of Indian legal history and their contributions to legal science will stand out as monuments of learning wherever legal scholarship is valued and respected. The Minto Professorship of Economics was founded in 1909 and the first incumbent of the Chair was one who had already won distinction at Cambridge under Professor Marshall. I refer to Professor Manohar Lal—now Sir Manohar Lal, Minister of Finance in the Punjab. This Professorship, after a chequered career, is now designated as the University Professorship of Economics and it may sincerely be hoped that it will substantially enrich the economic literature of the country. You have also a Carmichael Professorship of Indian History and Culture, a subject which until recently was woefully neglected by our Universities, and I am glad to note that to perpetuate the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee three Professorships—called the Asutosh Professorship of Sanskrit, the Asutosh Professorship of Islamic Culture and the Asutosh Professorship of Medieval and Modern Indian History—have been established. The princely benefactions of Sir Tarak Nath Palit in 1912 and of Sir Rash Behary Ghose—both of them, I am happy to say, leaders of the legal profession in their days—have enabled

the University to secure the services of some of the most distinguished scientists, such as Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Professor Meghnad Saha, Professor Ganesh Prasad, Professor Mitra, Dr. Guha and others. Your University, therefore, can, in my opinion, legitimately take pride that it has set an example to others in India in developing post-graduate studies and research; but here again we must acknowledge that the inspiration came from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The list of University publications at the end of your Calendar constitutes, in my humble opinion, a solid contribution to the advancement of learning, which should, above all others, be the primary function of a seat of learning.

Ideals of education change from generation to generation and what may be at a particular time a good ideal for a country need not necessarily be the same for another country. Into a discussion of the theory of education as imparted by our Universities I do not propose to enter, nor do I feel myself competent to do so. In his celebrated inaugural address delivered at the University of St. Andrews more than 70 years ago John Stuart Mill referred to and discussed the two kinds of education which the systems of schools and universities in his day were intended to promote. He says :

> " Intellectual education, and moral education : knowledge and the training of the knowing faculty, conscience and that of the moral faculty—these are the two main ingredients of human culture; but they do not exhaust the whole of it. There is a third division which, if subordinate, and owing allegiance to the two others, is barely in-

> ferior to them, and not less needful to the completeness of the human being ; I mean, the æsthetic branch ; the culture which comes through poetry and art, and may be described as the education of the feelings, and the cultivation of the beautiful. This department of things deserves to be regarded in a far more serious light than is the custom of these countries."

It is not perhaps fashionable in these days to quote John Stuart Mill, but I have ventured to quote him because what he said in 1867 at the University of St. Andrews is to a very large extent true of the Universities in India today. Our Universities have been, ever since their establishment, promoting intellectual education and moral education, and I refuse to subscribe to the criticism that the result of the present system of education in British times has been to starve our intellectual or spiritual life. Most of our greatest thinkers, writers, poets and historians in our times have been either the direct products of our own Universities, or have come under their all-pervasive influence, or have been connected in some capacity or other with them. In the realm of Science I shall mention only two or three. Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose is an honoured name among you, so is Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, who is happily with us. You may also claim credit for having furnished to Sir C. V. Raman opportunities for that great work which has brought him fame in the world of Science. In the realm of Literature the name of Dr. Tagore is held in reverence all over the civilised world. Outside Bengal another University can take credit for having produced Sir Mohammad Iqbal—a thinker and a poet in Persian and Urdu, to whom,

I confess, I have felt irresistibly drawn ever since my youth. The Calcutta University may also take pride in having founded, under the leadership of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, a new school of Indian History. He has been the inspirer of many others in that field. It is the Madras University and your University which have given to the world an exponent of Hindu thought like Sir Radhakrishnan. In the spiritual field also you have produced in contemporary times a large number of thinkers and reformers, whose writings and speeches have profoundly influenced contemporary thought. It is, however, in what Mill called "the education of the feelings, and the cultivation of the beautiful" that Calcutta occupies a place of pre-eminence, for, if one Tagore has given us beautiful poetry, another Tagore will go down to history as the founder or promoter of a new school of painting. Let us, therefore, not succumb to political prejudices or bitterness and denounce the present system of education or our Universities as having been altogether barren of results, for while I strongly maintain that a whole nation cannot be educated in a foreign language—and I have always been a persistent advocate of the development of our own languages and culture—yet bare justice requires that we must not deny that the Universities have played a great and noble part in enriching our national life and stimulating altruistic and patriotic feelings.

I have often asked myself the question as to what it is that the Universities may be expected to do at this time in our onward march, for while no one is more anxious than I that the academic serenity of our Universities should not be rudely disturbed by what are at times called the baser mundane pursuits, I also maintain that from a

practical point of view no University in India can afford to live a sheltered life of isolation from the great stream of national life. It, therefore, seems to me that on two sides of their work the Universities can render lasting services to the country. On the scientific side I think our professors and post-graduate scholars can do a great deal to enrich the industrial and economic life of the country by the results of their researches. The field open to them is immense, the example of other countries whose economic and industrial prosperity is in no small measure due to the scientific work of their professors, teachers and graduates, should inspire them in this work, and in my opinion it should be the primary duty of every Provincial Government—and indeed of the Central Government—to help them in a generous measure with grants for the purpose of such useful pursuits. On the cultural side—and I use the word ' culture ' in its largest sense as being something larger than mere book lore—the Universities can be a focus and centre for the synthesis of different cultures and for the evolution of that common culture which should be the highest aim of Indian nationalism to achieve, if that phrase is not merely an empty phrase or a deceptive slogan. I have just spoken of different cultures and also of a common culture but I would like, with your permission, to be a little more explicit, for while in a sense it is true that we have certain types of different cultures in this country, yet it is no less true that the process of the evolution of a common culture, which is neither wholly Hindu nor wholly Muslim, has been ceaselessly at work during the last four or five centuries, if not longer, and was never more in evidence than in the Mughal times. That a

common culture should have been the result of the impact of different communities, different religious ideals, and different outlooks on life, was inevitable. In the history of our country it was primarily the North of India which was the playground of different civilisations, different languages, different religions and different systems of morality. Bengal too did not altogether escape the operation of these forces and yet it is a fact which, in my opinion, cannot be legitimately contested that these differences led to an ever-increasing unity in thought, in language, in art, in music, in æsthetics, in architecture, in painting and in poetry. This process was not yet complete when new influences from the West began to make themselves felt. They have been in operation now certainly for over a century, if not longer, and we have been witnessing in our own times the growth of a culture—I use it again in its largest sense —which is neither wholly Hindu nor wholly Muslim nor wholly English. It is a mixture of all. I do not regret it. On the contrary I read in it the message and prophecy of a future in which, when the dust and din of the present-day controversies, which divide man from man and community from community, will have disappeared, each one of us will be able truthfully to say that India is neither my heritage nor yours, but a common heritage. The political problems which agitate our minds at the present moment are in all conscience very serious. It is not my purpose—and it would not be right for me on this occasion—to discuss them, but I venture to hope that whatever may be the noise in the market-place, the still small voice of reason may not be drowned altogether in Universities nor human feelings warped by mutual suspicions and hatreds. Do not let it, therefore,

be said of our Universities in the words of Yeats that—

> " Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
> The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
> The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
> The best lack all conviction, while the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity."

I, therefore, respectfully suggest to University men that it is their duty to think coolly and calmly and to direct their energies to the working out of a synthesis of the common ideas of a nationhood, although the siren voices of discord may be forcing themselves upon our ears to allure us to stagnation, if not ruin. I am not ignoring the differences that divide us. I do not consider it just or wise to ignore them, and yet taking together the things that divide us and the things that unite us I say it is by no means unfair to hold that those who live in India, whatever their religion or philosophy of life and from whatever part of the world their ancestors may have come in the past, do constitute a nation. When some 28 years ago Mr. (afterwards Lord) Asquith introduced the Irish Home Rule Bill in Parliament, he said that—

> " In any relative sense Ireland is a nation. Not two nations but one nation. They say, What do you mean by a nation? I am not going to embarrass myself by any abstract definition, but these things are best argued by way of illustration, and I will take a most extreme and, I think, a most undeniable case.....I mean Scotland. Will any one have the hardihood to deny that the Scots are a nation?

> They are not all, be it remembered, of one race. They are both Celts and Saxons and various other strains of blood among them. They are not all of one religion, and they are not by any means of one way of thinking about the problems of life, spiritual, intellectual, or material; and yet no one will deny that the Scots are a nation. Judged by any test that you can apply, the Irish is as definite and as separate a nationality as the Scotch."

I venture to present this passage from the speech of a great English statesman in the hope that it may have some effect on the placid minds of University men, if not on the contentious minds of the politicians. Is it, therefore, altogether a vain hope that our Universities may come to our rescue when our politicians have failed us, and that, out of the chaos of ideas and aspirations, it may be given to the Universities to evolve a cosmos of clear thinking and generous feeling? Today the fundamental problem which we have to solve, is the freedom of India, that is to say, the achievement by her of a position and the attainment of powers which may enable her to mould her future according to her best judgment and give her a place of equality and honour in the comity of nations. It is easy enough to state this proposition, but difficult to rescue it from the chaos which surrounds it. It is somewhat significant that nearly all the doctrines, under the spell of which we find one section or another of the country at present, are of Western origin, and, if I may speak frankly, Europe at present should be a warning to us rather than an example to follow. This is not the time nor the occasion when I can discuss the specific issues raised in this

country by the different schools of thought, but I venture to suggest that the Universities, instead of being the sound-boards of these conflicting ideas, should function as clearing-houses. They cannot, in my opinion, perform their legitimate functions and discharge their duty to the country in our peculiar circumstances, if their professors or their youngmen become partisans or advocates of one school or another. From them we are entitled to expect light and not darkness, and let them give us some of that kindly light.

In the affairs of men common calamities and common aims and common aspirations are a great uniting force. Today we are witnessing in England the spectacle of a common calamity having united men and women of all creeds and all political parties, working together and shedding their blood together against a common calamity. Two years ago who could have thought that men like Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr. Ernest Bevin and Mr. Herbert Morrison would work together as members of a team against a common enemy—and yet this has happened. A nation which can so combine in the hour of common danger deserves to live and live with honour. Remember if June was the darkest hour in the life of England, today it can look forward with confidence to the dawn of a bright day, if it has not already opened. How has it come about? Assuredly by that spirit of unity and singlemindedness which today characterise the people of England—from the King to the poorest of his subjects. Differences, social, political and economic, have yielded to the united will of the Nation. Is it, therefore, altogether impossible for us to combine and to unite for the achievement of common aims? Let the Universities—I say

in all sincerity—rise superior to the tyranny of slogans and let them take stock of the situation as it is and of the forces working round them and let them gaze upon the future steadily and advise the country accordingly. Let them be the seed-beds of a fertile unity and not the breeding places of a desolating disunity.

It is customary for the speaker on an occasion of this character to address the young graduates who are the recipients of degrees. I shall not waste much time in a long appeal to them. If they are leaving this University today, they are entering the bigger University of Life, and in that University the struggle is much keener and the disappointments perhaps more numerous. That struggle will make large calls on such reserves of knowledge as they have laid by here and above all on character which is far more necessary for real and lasting success than mere knowledge. The best wishes of every one will accompany them and I have no doubt that if the University can legitimately help them in setting them on their feet, it will do so—as indeed it seems to me to be its duty to do so. I know how the fear of unemployment—a problem in which I have been very much interested—eats into the minds of our youth and I also know how in their despondency some of them at any rate lose faith in the system of society in which they were born and how in their impatience with the inequalities and injustices of life they are tempted to curse that system and even to tear it by the roots. It is for this reason in particular that I have been most anxious that the Universities should definitely recognise their responsibility not for actually finding them jobs but for bringing them into touch with those who by reason of their situation in life may be in a position to

help them. To the youngmen themselves I shall repeat the advice of John Stuart Mill given to the youngmen whom he was addressing in his speech at St. Andrews :—

> "Nor let any one be discouraged by what may seem, in moments of despondency, the lack of time and of opportunity. Those who know how to employ opportunities will often find that they can create them : and what we achieve depends less on the amount of time we possess than on the use we make of our time. You and your like are the hopes and resources of your country in the coming generation. All great things which that generation is destined to do have to be done by some like you ; several will assuredly be done by persons for whom society has done much less, to whom it has given far less preparation, than those whom I am now addressing. I do not attempt to instigate you by the prospect of direct rewards, either earthly or heavenly ; the less we think about being rewarded in either way, the better for us. But there is one reward which will not fail you, and which may be called disinterested, because it is not a consequence, but is inherent in the very fact of deserving it ; the deeper and more varied interest you will feel in life : which will give it tenfold its value, and a value which will last to the end. All merely personal objects grow less valuable as we advance in life : this not only endures but increases."

The 8th March, 1941

II

THE HON'BLE SIR MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE, C.I.E.
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University

YOUR EXCELLENCY, SIR TEJ BAHADUR, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE, GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

In accordance with the established convention it is my duty and privilege to address the Senate and the graduates of this University. But before I do so, it is my mournful duty to pay my tribute and respect to the memory of those who have departed from our midst since the last Convocation. Rev. J. N. Rawson, Principal of the Serampore College and a Fellow of this University, Mr. Jotindramohan Ray, for some time a member of the Syndicate and a Fellow of the University, and Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee, who had so recently been re-elected to the Syndicate, breathed their last in course of the last year. Their services to the University and to the cause of education are well-known and I only wish to remember their services again to the cause of advancement of learning in this province and record our great loss at their sad and untimely death.

The Chancellor

May I take this opportunity of welcoming Your Excellency once again in our midst. The year just passed has been a momentous one in the

history of this University. As the Chancellor of this University, Your Excellency has always been kind enough to hear our view-points with patience and to help us in every possible way and I wish to convey our deep gratitude to you for Your Excellency's sympathetic interest in our affairs.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

We are fortunate enough to have in our midst the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., to deliver the Convocation address of this year. A scholar and a jurist of international reputation, a statesman who has given his best thoughts to the political, constitutional and educational problems of India, a politician with vision and judgment, Sir Tej Bahadur requires no introduction from me. He stands to-day in the political world of India as the symbol of unity and better understanding between the different communities and the varying political views in this country. May I, on behalf of this University, welcome Sir Tej Bahadur in our midst and I hope he will give us his blessings and benedictions to our future works.

The War

We are now in the midst of a great international conflict and almost a crisis in the affairs of mankind. I am not sure whether the history of mankind records any other graver conflict, conflict of arms and ideologies, as we are faced to-day in the modern world. We are face to face to-day with an emergency such as has hitherto been never known in history. India has so far escaped from being the scene of any direct conflict and we have

so far escaped the agonies of the war-front or the devastations of an air-raid. But those who are better able to judge of the military situation are genuinely anxious that we should as soon as possible be fully prepared to face all possible contingencies in the future.

The present war is not only a great military struggle but an upheaval in the affairs of mankind in all its spheres and we are also along with others involved in grave social and political problems with all the consequential emotional outbursts. The resulting disturbances to the intellectual life of every nation have also been very great. Centres of learning have been abandoned, sanctuaries of scholars have been rendered desolate, while intellectual treasures of centuries past have been subject to ruthless vandalism from the air. What the future will be, nobody can even venture to surmise to-day. Let us hope that the Almighty Providence in His infinite mercy and grace will soon bring in amity, peace and concord in the affairs of mankind.

University Training Corps—Need of Expansion

Whilst speaking of the military conflict, may I draw the attention of the Government and the military authorities to the urgent necessity of expanding the University Training Corps. At present we have only two such units in Calcutta and another in Dacca under the auspices of the Dacca University. There is no reason why the youngmen of our province in important centres of education, such as Chittagong, Comilla, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Barisal, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Krishnagar, Berhampur, Hooghly and Burdwan, should not have opportunities to get military training. I feel that a time is coming, probably much

sooner than one expects, when we will be faced directly with the problem of defence and safety of our motherland. It will not be to the credit of any one concerned, if at that stage we find that, in spite of the anxiety of our youngmen to get themselves trained and equipped for the army services of all ranks, there had not been opportunities for them to do so. I, therefore, strongly plead for the necessity of organising more training units in the mufassil centres of educaton, so that the youngmen of to-day may be fully trained for purposes of safety and defence of this country.

Recruitment of Army Officers from the University Training Units

It is also a paramount necessity for the success of these training units that men of Officers' rank in the military services should be recruited from the University units, if necessary, with such adjustment as may be desirable in the present system of training. We have such a vast reservoir of man-power available in this province that there is no reason why the youths of our province should not be allowed fullest opportunities to be trained for the army and the defence services. I am sure, our educated youths will be the best material, if properly trained, for military services of all ranks. If Noakhali, Chittagong and other bordering districts have still to supply the bulk of the sailors and *Lascars*, why can we not have opportunities for nautical and naval training in our province? I do not wish to enter into the complicated army controversies, but any scheme of provincial autonomy must necessarily mean that the military services and recruitment for the army and the navy must be the concern of

all the provinces. We have an equal right to defend our province and our country and be equal participants in all military services along with every other province in India. We trust, the question will receive the sympathetic consideration of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief who has already given expression to his deep concern about the defence problems of this country.

National Defence and Scientific Research

There is another aspect of the question to which I want to draw the special attention of all in this connection. The Universities of the world have always been in the forefront of carrying on a vast amount of scientific researches for the varying purposes of national development and national defence. Time has come when we must think ahead and take every step so that in the event of any international conflict we may not stand isolated and may not be vulnerable to any economic or military attacks from outside. A large amount of work is no doubt being done in this respect, but what I strongly plead is that this is a work which should also to a large degree be entrusted to the Universities of India and in doing so I am not here merely referring to the military requirements. Modern warfare has to depend for its success not merely on military strength but also on varying social, economic and political factors. Every country has to fall back upon its own resources in the event of a war and particularly in modern times when international trade stands almost paralysed in the event of a war. The development of all the resources of the country is, therefore, a very important factor in the military defence of a country and intensive researches in

applied sciences are necessary with a view to explore every possible avenue to utilise its economic resources. It is not necessary for me to give many instances, but one can very well ask himself as to whether at the present moment we can produce all the steel and iron, machinery railway wagons and engines, electric goods, telephone and radio parts, printing requirements, etc., that we require for this country. Do we produce all our medicinal and food requirements? Do we manufacture all the varying requirements of modern social and economic life? What are the basic requirements of the country and to what extent we can produce them? Has every man power and power of nature available in the country been or is being utilised to further the economic development of the country? Have we done anything to foster researches in these practical aspects? This is a problem that I want to place before you for your consideration.

Expansion of University Researches

It would be no use in the long run to condemn the University unless the Government and the public are prepared to foster these works and find adequate funds for these purposes. The University cannot raise a tax from the public. It has limited sources of income which cannot often expand and even where the available means do expand, they invariably do so with considerable volume of consequential expenditure concomitant on such expansion. I can assure you on behalf of the University that we will be only too glad to take up such work provided we get facilities for the purpose and adequate funds are placed at our disposal. I ask you to seriously

consider whether the available raw materials in the province of Bengal or in India have been explored in full and if so, to what extent they have been utilised. We have still to draw from outside suppliers a very large quantity of commodities which can no doubt be produced or manufactured in this country.

India has enormous resources. Have these resources been fully explored and if not what we should do with a view to develop our resources to the highest possible extent? I am not impatient and I do not think that the ultimate result can be achieved in a day or even in a year—it will take many years before we can achieve the desired result, but there is no reason why we should not make a start at an early date. I hope and trust that the public and the Government will realise soon the importance of this aspect of the question and before long Government may initiate a scheme in which the public, the University and the Government will meet together to explore means of developing the country.

Islamic Studies

It is not necessary for me to refer to the many important events in the life of our University in course of the last year, full details of which are available from the published report of this University. I have only to mention the fact that we have at last succeeded in organising the department of Islamic Studies from July last and Post-Graduate M.A. class in the 5th-year has begun with more than 20 students. Regulations were finally sanctioned by Government for the teaching of the subject in the M.A. course and the regulations for the study of Islamic History in the B.A.

and Intermediate courses were also sanctioned in course of the year. I am sure, at a time when the present atmosphere in this country is so full of distrust and conflict among the different communities of India, the study of the great culture of Islam will open up a new vista of thoughts in this country and I pray to the Almighty that this may bring in a better understanding among the two major communities and may bring in peace and amity in this unfortunate land of ours. We have approached Government for sanction of an additional grant for properly organising the Post-Graduate Department in Islamic Studies but no decision has yet been arrived at. In the mean time we are carrying on our work with honorary staff, but I hope and trust that Government will soon come to a decision in the matter, thereby giving us an opportunity in this department to usher in a new chapter in the intellectual thought of the country.

Need of Co-ordinated Expansion

Once again I wish to emphasise the need of a co-ordinated expansion in our University. Our buildings are now isolated from one another. The Senate House, the Law College, the Asutosh Building, the Post-Graduate Teaching Departments in Arts with Library and offices are centralised in the College Square, our Science laboratories are partly located in Ballygunge and partly here where we are having our Convocation, our Press Building is in Hazra Road, and our Agricultural Institute is in Barrackpur. Yet we are in need of more space with a view to properly organise post-graduate teaching in all the departments. People outside can hardly realise the extent of

expansion of this University. This University has now taken up a large amount of work in the training of teachers in Science, Geography, English and other subjects. Take alone the subject of Geography. Every one admits that the present system of teaching of Geography in Bengal schools require considerable improvement and orientation. We have taken up the work, but we require considerable space to organise suitable class rooms and laboratories for the teaching of Geography. The Controller's department has expanded beyond measure and we have today to deal with many thousands of candidates in hundreds of centres embracing numerous University examinations. It is also well-known that certain types of higher scientific researches cannot be done in the town of Calcutta with its smoke, dust and constant vibration of the soil due to the movement of heavy transport vehicles. As I said before it is also necessary that our science departments should give more attention to the application of science in the utilisation of the resources of the country particularly in view of the present war situation and future contingencies. If we have to utilise our resources for the economic, political and military self-sufficiency of our country, we in the University have also to play a great part and a vast amount of research on the economic, political and other factors on scientific lines is necessary not only for the purpose of national defence but also for our self preservation. This can only be taken up by the University if we have sufficient space and enough funds.

To the Graduates

Graduates of this University, I wish you God speed in your life and career. Life is not an easy

proposition. Oftentimes you will find yourself in unison with the poet who said :

> Merrily they live and call life pleasure,
> To me that cup has been dealt in another measure.

In the conflict of life, go forth with the strength of your individual character and the good wishes of your University. Be always considerate and respectful to others' convictions even when you stolidly maintain your individual views in any matter. Try to understand others and remember whatever may be the issues, there is something in human nature which may baffle your efforts and oftentimes may not easily be comprehended by you. Make allowance for these factors and you will in the long run succeed much better than what you would do if you merely think of yourself and not of others. Remember this University sends you out with hope and confidence. Be true to its traditions and its past and in your life's work, remember that inspite of India being a vast country with numerous creeds, races and cultures, we have to keep up a unity of aim and purpose in all our works and on behalf of this University of yours and ours, I ask you to keep before you the map of India, this gloried land of ours, as the ultimate end of your life-work and life-activities.

The 8th March, 1941

III

His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E.

Governor of Bengal, Chancellor, Calcutta University

Let me first acknowledge with gratitude the words of welcome which the Vice-Chancellor has spoken on my behalf. I appreciate them for their own sake and also because they have been spoken by a man, who will long be remembered as having filled with distinction two high public offices simultaneously—a service which has within recent months earned him an honour of the Crown both richly deserved and widely acclaimed.

In his address he has rightly referred to the direct contribution which the University could make to the economic, political and military self-sufficiency of this country. I do not wish to add to the observations he has made except to say that, as one who has at heart the development of Bengal and of India, I feel that we should give serious thought to the problems he has outlined and consider how best they can be met.

It is not and I feel should not be the custom for the Chancellor to address you at length. I should in any case feel some hesitation in doing so after listening to the profound and searching address which our distinguished visitor, the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, has given us.

He spoke, in terms which should move our pride, of the great pioneer influence of this University in India, and his tribute to what I may call the Bengali genius was that of a man of the world whose experience and understanding have taught him to give praise where it is due.

I think I can speak on behalf of this Convocation in saying that we in our turn are all deeply conscious of the honour which we enjoy today in being addressed by one who has earned fame and respect second to none in present day India, and has established a name in those parts of Europe also where breadth of mind, vision and humanity are still prized.

Today I speak to you in Convocation as Chancellor. It is 4 years since Sir John Anderson spoke of the easy access to the Governor which is enjoyed by the Chancellor of this University. That state of things still exists, with the difference that the Governor is no longer at the mercy of the Chancellor to the extent that he used to be. Today the Governor is not directly concerned in the relation between the State and the University, and thus, in a sense, the Chancellor has joined the Bar as an Advocate instead of continuing to sit on the Bench with his learned brother. This development does not, I trust, lay the Chancellor open to the charge of partisanship, but it does give him cause to feel more closely his association with the University and its problems, and for me personally it enhances the value which I attach to meeting you in Convocation today.

I do not wish to seize this occasion to dwell upon the events which are clouding the world today. There are other public occasions which offer themselves, and indeed call, for a consideration of the war and its great problems. The present occasion justifies, I think, a reflection on more permanent things and on the lasting human values, and Sir Tej Bahadur has done well to give us material for such reflection. The gains of the past are solid and will not melt away, and I for one am confident that the present troubles are transitory and do not for a moment mean the extinction of civilised culture. But our visitor has touched also on the present, and he has set our minds on the path of questioning. Present day conditions are a severe test of present day values and qualities. Are the Universities of today capable of withstanding the strain to which established institutions and established traditions are being subjected? Or are they doomed to rest on their past laurels and to content themselves with saying that, whatever may come, they were, once upon a time, the pioneering centres of culture and of intellectual and moral progress? If they cannot withstand the present, then what of the future? We have witnessed in the past few years a tragic collapse of moral and intellectual values in many countries of Europe—a collapse accompanied by, and perhaps resulting from, the oppression upon Universities which have themselves played a great part in human progress. The present is the time to prepare for the future. Are we strong enough to meet any challenge to our vitality and our soundness? Are we concentrating sufficiently on consolidating the

gains which generations of brilliant men have given us and on enriching them for posterity? Are we satisfied that the standards at which we are aiming are worthy of the past and are a firm enough foundation on which the future can be built? Do we weigh carefully enough the relative importance of quality and quantity?

These are some of the questions which, I think, we must ask ourselves. Those of you who are students preparing to go out into the world may feel that they are of academic interest only, and that the young generation of today is prepared to look after itself in its own way. If that is your feeling, it means that you have confidence, and that is a gain from the beginning. But the questions I have put should not be brushed too lightly aside. They are questions which have exercised previous generations and in your turn you will be called upon for an answer. Much of the confusion existing in the world today has arisen because people have been too ready to cast aside accepted values and to follow false ideas, false aims and false hopes. Accepted values are sometimes wrong, but that is not because they are accepted, but because changed conditions alter them. It is for you to test and weigh carefully the value of accepted ideas. If you reject them out of hand, you run great risks. But if you give them respect and attention and only reject them when after mature experience and careful thought you have something good to put in their place, then what you have learned and taken in at the University will not have been wasted.

The function of a University is not only to provide book-learning but also to develop a sense of values and a faculty for selection, without which the man of the world is ill equipped for the tasks he has to face. As men of the world, it will be your duty to distinguish the important from the unimportant and the broad universal issues from those which affect only certain groups for a certain time. Turn again to the words of John Stuart Mill, which our distinguished visitor has quoted. We look for a better world after this struggle is over. If you learn to select what is good and to discard only after careful thought what seems unworthy, you will have earned the right to be called "the hope and resources of your country."*

* His Excellency's Address at the Calcutta University Convocation, on the 8th March, 1941.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
APRIL, 1941

SHAKESPEAREAN PUZZLE—ENDEAVOURS AFTER ITS SOLUTION

SIR P. C. RÂY, KT. AND BHABES CHANDRA RAY, M.SC.

XVII

SHAKESPEARE AS A REVISER OF PLAYS WRITTEN BY OTHERS— TRILOGY OF *Henry VI* AND *Titus Andronicus*

LET us now read through the play of *Titus Andronicus*. Those who do not regard the play as Shakespearean and attach so much importance to the stage tradition of Ravenscroft go straight to the question of versification, style and diction and dismiss point-blank the question of Shakespearean authorship. Malone observes in the preliminary remarks to his edition of *Titus Andronicus* (Variorum Edition) that " To enter into a long disquisition to prove this piece not to have been written by Shakespeare, would be an idle waste of time " and so says Mason, " I agree with such commentators as think that Shakespeare had no hand in this abominable tragedy; and consider the correctness with which it is printed as a kind of collateral proof that he had not."

The original Quarto of the play bearing a date 1594 is printed with the remark that it was played by the ' Earl of Essex, his

servants.' Sir E. K. Chambers, in his *Elizabethan Stage*, suggests that Essex is an obvious misprint for Sussex. This view is perhaps correct, for no mention of an Essex Company of stage players is recorded in any early annals. The First Quarto publication records the playing companies, most probably in order of transference from one to the other, *viz.*, Derby's, Pembroke's and last of all, Sussex's. This is a valuable piece of external evidence which the sponsors of[1] 'non-Shakespearean theory' have dilated upon. They have built up an ingenious theory of transference of this play from Company and Company. The 1600 edition of *Titus Andronicus* mentions that the play was acted by Lord Chamberlain's men but gives no name of the author. Henslowe's *Titus and Vespacia* was staged by the Company who wore the badge of Lord Strange and transformed themselves into Lord Derby's servants in September, 1593.

The life of Lord Derby's Company was but very short and its title had to be changed within the course of six months (April, 1594). Lord Derby's servants subsequently became Lord Chamberlain's and finally the King's men. However, one must not forget the theory that Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* came to the hands of the Chamberlain's men through purchase, and there are critics who believe that what is true of the *Spanish Tragedy* is as well materially true of *Titus Andronicus*. They would hold that the Pembroke-men produced a play entitled *Titus Andronicus* which was based on a source-play, *viz.*, on *Titus and Vespacia* mentioned by Henslowe, and this came to Shakespeare's Company through the Sussex's men.

It may here be found very interesting to know what Halliwell-Phillipps and Fleay hold regarding the authorship of the play, and thus incidentally come to the relation of our poet with the existing theatrical companies of his time. The former could not doubt the Shakespearean authorship of the piece and maintained that Shakespeare was the author of the play which had been presented by the Sussex men. To quote Halliwell-Phillipps:

"He (Shakespeare) left Lord Strange's men, who in 1593 enjoyed the highest position of any then existing, and after having been a member successively of two of the obscurest companies, returned to his former position within a few months."

[1] Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*.
[2] Fleay, *Life of Shakespeare*.

This, indeed, is a colossal assumption and Fleay dismisses this as 'utterly untenable.' According to him "there is no vestige of evidence that Shakespeare ever wrote for any company but one," this one being the Lord Chamberlain's Company. It is not very easy to support Halliwell-Phillipps, and in the absence of any record to that effect it would be unwise to think like that.

The next basis for a denial of the authorship of the play to Shakespeare is the absence of his name in the three Quarto editions of it appearing in 1594, 1600 and 1611. From a reference to the table embodying the list of the Quartos of Shakespearean plays with the dates of their publication it may be ascertained, at a glance, that the year 1594 saw the publication of the single play of *Titus Andronicus*. The year 1600 saw the (anonymous) publication of the Second Quarto of this and the First Quartos of *Midsummer Night's Dream, Merchant of Venice* and *Much Ado About Nothing* (with Shakespeare's name as author in every case). It may be argued that Shakespeare's name was purposely omitted only in the Quarto published in 1594. So far so good. But why should the Second Quarto of the same play appearing in 1600 be an anonymous publication, more especially when three other plays appear with Shakespeare's name? Likewise, in 1611 the Third Quarto of *Hamlet* and that of *Titus Andronicus* were published and only the former was in Shakespeare's name. It is not an explanation that publications which appeared as anonymons were never to contain the name of the author in subsequent issues. *Henry IV* was first published anonymously in 1598 but was subsequntly published with the name of the author in 1599 and again in 1604, 1608, 1613 as also in 1623. J. M. Robertson has well discussed this point with positive assertion and attaches much value to this subject. His views are worth quoting here, "But in the case of *Titus* we have three careful prints, clearly authorised, the first being evidently from the theatre copy, in Shakespeare's life time, without his name, though as early as 1600 that name had so much selling power as to induce the authorship to him of published plays that he certainly had not written. On the view that he wrote *Titus*, the absence of his name from the three Quartos is utterly inexplicable ; and the negative force of such a fact countervails *pro tanto* the statement of Meres. It warrants caution to accept this view without any safeguard ; we shall just see why so. *Henry V* and *Romeo and Juliet* saw three and two anonymous Quarto publications respectively during the life time of our poet. They are

acknowledged writings of Shakespeare though modern disintegrators would scent alien hands in them. Let us quote here Theobald who maintains that "Ben Jonson, in the introduction to his *Bartholomew Fair*, which made its first appearance in the year 1614, couples *Jeronymo* and *Andronicus* together in reputation, and speaks of them as plays of twenty-five or thirty years' standing. Consequently *Andronicus* must have been on the stage before Shakespeare left Warwickshire, to come and reside in London." The fate of these last-named plays hangs in the same balance with *Titus Andronicus*, and Robertson's remark that "Had it really been Shakespeare's recast, it would have been assigned to him on the quartos" seem to be altogether non-convincing.

Denvers, on Shakespeare's authorship of *Titus*, adduces another very strong argument as to the date of its composition. The play was, as has already been stated, published in 1594 and in all probability was written sometime in 1593 at the latest. In Jonson's preface to *Bertholomew Fair* (1614) the words "these five and twenty or thirty years" give a clue that the date would fall between 1584 and 1589. The play referred to by Ben Jonson is too early to be that of Shakespeare's. This may allude to one which was by all means a play written by some other or others. Boas gives a pen picture of Shakespeare's early years in London in the following fine lines, "His literary career, beginning about 1588, extended over a period of rather more than twenty years. Of those the first five or six (1588-94) were years of dramatic apprenticeship. He started with theatrical hackwork, touching up old plays, and collaborating with writers of established repute in stagecraft."

Greene's invective and Chettle's apology have been interpreted by many as pointing to the fact that Shakespeare was an author even before 1592. Yes, he might have been such but what were then the plays, of which Shakespeare was the author? It has been conjectured by some critics—among whom one may find the name of so eminent a critic as Elze—that Shakespeare began to write *Titus Andronicus* while he was still at Stratford and Boas is inclined to believe that Shakespeare lost no time in setting himself down to the composition of this play after he reached the metropolis in search of a career. The present authors are slow to accept this view for obvious reasons.

[1] *Shakespeare and his Predecessors*, p. 134.

It has been pointed out quite clearly that the acceptance of a playwright's career was no honour in the eighties of the sixteenth century and the son of a village-Mayor, though in a tottering financial position, would not very easily come to such a condemnable profession, more specially when he himself is found to repent in the following language:

> " When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes
> I all alone beweep my outcast state " etc.

It is probable, one would retort, that the son of a Lord Mayor and that of a Justice accepted this very mode of livelihood, but it is not advisable to forget that they were recipients of liberal University education which might have taught them that there is nothing to be despised of in being a playwright. This is, it must be admitted, highly speculating but it cannot be helped. In the absence of any positive evidence everybody is free to conjecture and all possibilities and probabilities have to be accurately weighed before arriving at any final conclusion. It is, to some extent, the most probable hypothesis that as a result of his father's diplorable finances Shakespeare was induced to leave his parental abode in search of something which could give him a pittance for his future life and simultaneously a relief to his bankrupt father. Nobody knows whether he entered the theatrical world just the moment he reached London or he had waited to try his luck in other professions and, failing in other fields, finally came over to the stage. Though a hypothesis, this seems to have been the actual state of things.

(To be continued)

BENGALI CULTURE AS A SYSTEM OF MUTUAL ACCULTURATIONS

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

CULTURE and civilisation are synonymous and both imply nothing but creation. The creativities of men are born of the desire and the power to influence, command and dominate. Culture is, therefore, essentially a system of influences, conversions, conquests and dominations. Like every other culture Bengali culture is manifest, first, in military and political enterprises, and secondly, in the arts and sciences, religions, morals, economic activities, social organisations, etc.

Bengalis of the pre-Vedic and pre-Buddhist times were known to the writers of the *Mahabharata* as a powerful military race. Bengal was during that period of three thousand years politically independent of Northern India.

From the Mohenjodaro times to the epoch of Buddha, Bengali culture was the institutions, ideas and ideals of all sorts created, invented or discovered by what in modern times would be regarded as the pariahs of varied denominations. The Bengalis were treated by the so-called Indo-Aryans as mere *vayansi* (birds), "crows and pigeons" in the Sanskrit literature from the *Aitareya Brahmana* to the *Satapatha Brahmana*. The aboriginals living in hills, forests and river valleys, as well as the untouchable and depressed classes and some of the so-called lower castes of today, nay, many of those castes which have in subsequent ages somehow got admitted into the alleged higher castes may be regarded as the descendants, kith and kin, or cognates and agnates of those pre-Vedic and pre-Buddhist Bengalis. Anthropometric affiliations and affinities are of course not yet easy to establish. Miscegenation, *varna-samkara*, blood-fusion or somatic intermixture is, besides, being ignored in the present discussion.

During fifteen hundred years from Chandragupta Maurya to the Sena Dynasty, Bengal was equally independent of Northern India except perhaps for short periods under the Mauryas and the Guptas. It is not definitely known exactly when the Vedic religion and culture of the Punjab and the U. P. invaded the land of the "birds," *i.e.*,

the races and tribes of Eastern India who could not speak or understand the Sanskrit language, the language of world-conquering Hinduism. The process of bringing the peoples speaking the Bengali dialect or dialects within the empire of aggressive Vedic culture, Indo-Aryanism or Hinduism was lengthy and difficult.

Evidently the "acculturation" of the Bengali "birds" to the Vedic,—the so-called "Indo-Aryan"—conditions was not smooth-sailing. The pariahs of Bengal did not fall an easy victim to the conversions consummated by the foreigners. The "Hindu" religion propagated by the Punjabis and Kanaujiyas and the Buddhist religion preached by the Biharis encountered resistance at the hands of the Bengalis. And indeed the Bengalis succeeded in conquering, parianizing or Bengalicizing both those non-Bengali and foreign faiths, with local gods, rites and ceremonies. In Bengal it was no "*veni vidi vici*" for either Hinduism (Vedic) or Buddhism. Both had to submit to compromises with and concessions to Bengalicism, the religion of the Bengali pariahs, or "crows and pigeons." If Indo-Aryanism converted or conquered Bengal, Bengalicism also converted or conquered Indo-Aryanism. The conversion or acculturation was mutual. Besides, not more than fringes of the Bengali population could be effectively Indo-Aryanized, *i.e.*, Hinduized in accordance with the Vedas or with the Buddhist system.

The hindrances to speedy and uniform Aryanization were not few in Bengal. The country was thinly populated. The distances between the settled areas were long. Forests lay between the tiny villages of hamlets. Dangerous rivers offered no small obstruction to intercourse between valley and valley. The absence of roads was a natural handicap to the promotion of inter-human relations. The *digvijaya* or world-conquest of Aryanism must therefore have had a chequered career. The propaganda machinery at the disposal of the Aryan, Vedic or Hindu Missions of those days was not powerful enough to cope adequately with the hindrances. Indeed, the proselytizing was very often the work not of organized institutions but of individual *Rishis*, preachers, *Sadhus*, scholars and saints. The propaganda was almost exclusively oral and could hardly utilize manuscripts since the number of literates was exceedingly small.

The regional and social conditions of Bengal remained pretty nearly the same down to the sixteenth century, the age of Akbar, nay, down to the middle of the nineteenth century. Population was

growing, settlements were expanding, communications were improving, and the number of literates increasing during these two thousand years and a half. The facilities for inter-human, inter-rural or inter-urban intercourse were therefore undoubtedly improving from century to century. But all the same, the propagation of ideas and ideals as consummated in the earlier centuries of these two millennia or so must not in any way be understood in terms of nineteenth and twentieth century consummations.

The Bengali genius for conquering and dominating new cultural institutions and ideologies and establishing the empire of Bengalicism on all and sundry was in perpetual evidence likewise in the medieval times for five centuries and a half from Bakhtiyar Khilji to Sirajdaula. Politically speaking, it is worth while to observe that during this period Bengal was directly connected with Delhi, *i.e.*, Northern India for not more than eighty-five years.

Large sections of the Bengali people had remained non-Hindu and non-Buddhist down to 1200, especially in East Bengal. The missionizing activities of the aggresive Indo-Aryan culture (Hinduism and Buddhism) carried on during the previous fifteen hundred years cannot be taken to have converted the entire Bengali people or peoples to that system, modified although with varying doses of Bengalicism. In any case, the conversion or acculturation of the Bengalis to Hinduism could not be anything more than merely formal or nominal in numerous instances. Mass-conversions in India to Hinduism or Buddhism were not by any means more profound than mass-conversions to Christianity or Islam in Europe, Africa or Asia. About the beginnings of the thirteenth century the room for fresh propaganda, proselytizing, missionizing, conversion and acculturation was therefore quite extensive in Bengal both for Hinduism or Buddhism as well as for any other new-comer from East or West. Considerable slices of the Bengalis,—the "crows and pigeons" of old,—whether living in hills and forests or in the plains,—were in need of "more intensive" Aryanization or remained yet to be conquered by the Aryanizing processes. Scientifically speaking, one cannot accept the postulate of the entire or the majority of Bengali people towards the close of the Sena regime as having been factually Hindu or Buddhist. Positive historic evidences are lacking one way or the other. The question of the extent or degree of Bengali acculturation to Hinduism or Buddhism in the early years of the thirteenth century is therefore

open. The existence of many groups of non-Hindus and non-Buddhists in the diverse regions of Bengal may be taken as a social reality of those days.

It was mainly some of these non-Hindu and non-Buddhist Bengalis that accepted the Muslim faith from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. Converts from Hindus and Buddhists to Islam cannot be historically demonstrated to have been many. It remains yet to be proven that Islam was accepted by large masses of low-caste Hindus as a refuge from the persecution alleged to have been perpetrated by the higher castes. The story of the ill-treatment meted out in those days by the Brahmanocracy to the non-Brahmans, although a reality perhaps in certain cases, is in many instances a myth. Hinduism was perhaps in those days confined in the main to the small circle of rulers, military aristocracy, administrative hierarchy, and commercial oligarchy. The conquests of the Brahmanocracy among the broad masses of the population may have been rather halting, superficial and inconsiderable. Most of the folk lived to all intents and purposes beyond the pale of Aryanization or Hinduization. The work of Islam is likely to have flourished chiefly beyond this pale. In all these discussions we should have to go by numerical considerations, *i.e.*, the number of individuals, families, groups or villages that had accepted Hinduization or that were to accept Islam. But this numerical, *i.e.*, statistical question is not easy to solve. It has therefore become the convention to treat every Bengali of the Sena times as having been a Hindu or Buddhist. This is a very questionable attitude from the standpoint of acculturation as a social process.

Be this as it may, Islam was conquered by Bengali creativity and became Bengalicized just like Hinduism and Buddhism. Chaitanya's Vaishnava-cult was one of the "Aryan" rivals to Islam in the matter of making converts from non-Hindus and non-Buddhists in medieval Bengal. *Shaikh Shubhodaya, Kavi-Kankana-Chandi* and the Radha-Krishna songs represented certain phases of mutual "acculturation" between the original pariah culture of Bengal and the non-Bengali Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim faiths. In each the atmosphere is profoundly Bengali, *i.e.*, pariah. The non-pariah, *i.e.*, the foreign Aryan or Islamic elements are seen as intruders struggling for assimilation in the *milieu* of "birds, crows and pigeons," the low-castes, untouchables and aboriginals.

The manners and customs of the Bengali Mussalmans and Bengali Hindus are very often found to be identical, similar or allied. This identity, commonness or affinity is not invariably to be accounted for by the circumstance that Mussalmans are converts from Hinduism. In numerous instances the explanation is to be sought in the fact that the Mussalmans like the Hindus have derived the manners and customs from a common source, namely, the pre-Hindu and pre-Muslim Bengali "birds, crows and pigeons," or pariahs of all denominations It is Bengalicism, the original culture and religion of the Bengali pariahs, that has conquered both Hinduism and Islam and has compelled both to get acculturated to the millennium-long *mores* of the Bengali people.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the cultural *milieu* of the Bengali people was furnished, in the main (excluding Christianity for the time being), by three factors. The first was the original Bengalicism, which remained unaffected by alien forces. The second was the Aryanism of diverse forms, old and new. The third factor was Islam. During the period of Islamization large sections of the Bengali people were continuing to be converted to the ever-conquering and aggressive Aryanism under the auspices of Vedic Hinduism, Vaishnavism, Shaktaism, Tantricism, etc. Islamization ran parallel to and synchronous with Hinduization. Very often the alleged Hindu and the alleged Mussalman of Bengal during this period was in psycho-social *Gestalt* perhaps semi-Hindu and semi-Muslim at the same time within the larger pattern or frame-work of the original Bengalicism of parianism. Exactly how these different groups called themselves or described one another from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, say, in the days of Akbar, Raghunandan and Chaitnya is not very clear. But it is self-evident that the anthropological, economic, political, religious or legal terms that have become popular in the twentieth century discussions in order to demarcate the tribes, castes, religions, sects, etc., would have been unintelligible to the Hindus, Muslims, semi-Hindus and semi-Muslims as well as the non-Hindus and non-Muslims of the Bengali population (excluding, again, the Christians) in the eighteenth century.

The basic religion of the Bengali people for thousands of years has remained Bengalicism. Among the Hindus of Bengal,—both masses and classes,—the fundamental religion is Bengalicism and not the so-called Hinduism. If at all, it may be described as Bengalicized

Hinduism which is profoundly different from the Punjabi, Kanaujiya, Maratha, Tamil and other Hinduisms. Durga, Lakshmi, Jagaddhatri, Kali, Chandi, Saraswati, Radha, Manasa, Sitala, and other goddesses worshipped by the Bengali men and women of the diverse castes are virtually unknown in the rest of India except as mere names or metaphors. These goddesses are the Bengali women,—mothers, sisters, wives and daughters,—anthropomorphically and perhaps romantically and idealistically elevated to the dignity of divinities by the Bengali realistic imagination and creative spirit. So are Krishna, Kartik, Ganesh, Dakshin Roy and other gods of the Bengali people nothing but Bengali men,—fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons. It is the boys and girls, the men and women of Bengal, who are adored, lionized, loved and worshipped by the Bengalis in the aesthetic atmosphere of a few songs, chants or hymns in alien Sanskrit, the meaning of which is understood by hardly anybody, very often not even by the priest, in any case, not by more than a few handfuls of the *intelligentsia*. Bengalis worship their own creations, their own sentiments, emotions and activities. Bengalicism is a profoundly secular, materialistic, humane and energistic faith. It creates its ideals and idols in order to serve the men and women with the ideas of vigour, health, wealth and efficiency. The gods and goddesses of the Bengali Hindus have been invented, discovered or manufactured by the creative genius of the Bengali masses and classes in every age in order to help forward the expansion of Bengali life. Bengali Hinduism is a child's play to the men and women of Bengal.

It was while Islam was getting Bengalicized in certain regions of Bengal and among certain groups of the Bengali people that Hinduism was being acculturated to Bengali conditions by accepting Bengali ideas about the gods and goddesses. The Doms, Hadis, Chamars, Bagdis, fowlers and other castes of the Bengali population have substantially contributed to the inventory of the Bengali gods and goddesses. The contribution of the so-called untouchables, depressed, aboriginals and so forth of Bengal to Bengali Hinduism is of extraordinary importance. Bengali Hinduism is not so much Indo-Aryanism or All-Indian Hinduism modified by Bengali conditions as Bengali folk-religion establishing the might of Bengalicism on the few slender items or homœopathic doses of Sanskritic culture and overpowering them with the Bengali paraphernalia. In the songs or poems about Chandi, Kali, Radha, Behula, *Holi*, *Gajan*, *Gambhira*, etc., is to be

seen not so much the Aryanization of the pariah as the parianization of the so-called Aryan. *

The ideology and the *mores* of the Bengali Mussalman represent likewise more the parianization of Islam than the Islamization of the pariah. The command of Arabic or Persian slogans over the Bengali Mussalmans is not even as profound as that of Sanskrit over the Bengali Hindus. It is the Bengali words and phrases that embody in the main the devotion and energism of the Bengali Hindus and Mussalmans.

In the twentieth century Bengalicism, the culture and religion of the "birds, crows and pigeons", *i.e.*, of the Bengali pariahs, continues to hold the ground in no unmistakable manner. In the first place, it is the cult of all those Bengalis who, whatever be their number, are neither Hindus, nor Mussalmans nor Christians. In the second place, it is serving to Bengalicize Hinduism, Islam as well as Christianity. Last but not least, it is embodied in the *mores* and institutions of those persons who are seemingly Hindus and yet seemingly Mussalmans, who indeed may be indifferently described as either Hindus or Mussalmans in socio-religions *Gestalt*.

In modern times from Clive down to 1911 Bengal was independent of Northern India in administration but contained the political capital of entire India. This gave the Bengalis a special position in Indian public life.

The Bengali capacity for withstanding the foreign cultural influences and finally converting, dominating or Bengalicizing them is manifest with equal force from Rammohun and the greatest authors and publicists of Bengal down to the latest contributors to the weekly editions of the Bengali dailies of today. Christianity, Western culture and English education have all submitted to Bengali influences, conquests or dominations. Rammohun Bengalicised the rationalism of the eighteenth century, Madhusudan the world-embracing virility of Dante and Milton, Rangalal, Bihari, Hem and Nabin the democracy, socialism and feminism of the Victorian epoch; Bankim the positivism of Comte and Mill; Vivekananda the idealism of Fichte and Carlyle; Aurobindo the mystical duty-sense and youth-cult of Mazzini and Kant; Ambika Ukil the capitalism and industrialism of modern economy; Rabindranath the sturdy individualism of Browning and

* See B. K. Sarkar: *The Folk Element in Hindu Culture* (London, 1917), *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937, Chapter on "The Positivism of Bengali Poetry").

Whitman ; Sarat the humanistic anarchism of Dostoyevski. Th literary, scientific and economic writers, thinkers and speakers o the last two decades, *i.e.*, since *c.* 1918-20 (the age of Lenin) have been struggling, among other things, to give an effective shape to the ideologies of socialism. In all these conquests or assimilations of Eur-American culture by the Bengali intelligentsia the Bengali creativity is so prominent that it is extremely difficult to detect the foreign influences unless one is adequately equipped in Western thought and determined to discern them.

Pan-Indian reputation was not obtained by the Bengali poets, philosophers, scientists and religious preachers down to the eighteenth century except to a certain extent by Emperor Dharmapal, Chaitanya, and the *Navya Nyaya* system of philosophy. It is in the nineteenth century and in recent years that Bengali thinkers, scholars and politicians have succeeded in winning a recognition on the All-Indian plane like the great Indians of antiquity and the Middle Ages.

This is an important subject awaiting intensive historical researches with the object of investigating, province by province, if, when and to what extent Bengali creativities in politics, warfare, literature, sciences, arts, etc., succeeded in influencing the masses and the classes of non-Bengali men and women in ancient and medieval times.

Among the creations of the Bengali Muslims in politics, literature, arts and sciences down to the end of the eighteenth century *Seiyur Mutaqherin* is perhaps the only work that may be regarded as having had some sort of an All-Indian importance. This is another topic that deserves careful investigation, especially as to whether the author, Gholam Hussein, is to be taken at all as a Bengali.

By the " world-standard " Bengali creativities hardly rose to the level of non-Bengali Indian creativities down to the end of the nineteenth century. The propagation of Indian culture in eastern, northern and western Asia by which a " Greater India " was established in foreign countries was in the main the work of non-Bengali Hindus and Buddhists. The contributions of ancient and medieval Bengalis to this Greater India of old cannot yet be historically demonstrated to any mentionable extent except perhaps in the influences exerted by the architecture and sculpture of Paharpur (Rajshahi) in Java, Burma, Siam and Cambodia. The Buddhist missionizing activities of Dipankar, the Bengali of Vikrampur (Dacca), in Tibet must however be mentioned in this connection.

It is since 1893, with the first contact of Vivekananda with America, that the Bengali people has been winning recognition as a power in world-culture. The *Swadeshi* revolution of young Bengal in 1905 is an important force in the international politics and culture of modern times. During the last 35 years Bengali men and women in the different walks of life, in arts and industries, in sciences and philosophies have been accepted, along with other Indians, as mentionable colleagues by the world's creative intellectuals and statesmen on account of contributions to the journals of learned societies and participation in international congresses holding their sessions in the two hemispheres.

A second period of India's ideological imperialism or influences in world-culture,—corresponding to the Greater India of old,—may be taken to have commenced on a small scale. And in this Greater India of the twentieth century Bengali creativities in politics and culture occupy a prominent status. Today in 1941 Bengalis are not to be treated as falling from a higher to a lower position but as rising steadily although slowly from a lower to a higher level.

"We have climbed a height indeed,
But, alas, the highest is yet to come."

HOW EGYPT IS GOVERNED

PROF. RAMESH CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

THE Egyptian Constitution of 1923 was drawn up by a Committee of thirty Liberals chosen by King Fuad. After an extensive study of the world's constitutions, the Committee presented a draft " which was mainly inspired by the Belgian Constitution, without regard for different social and other conditions obtaining in Egypt " (*vide*—Arthur Merton, in *Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1931, p. 32). The project of this Committee was revised by a Government Commission, and promulgated by the King on 19th April, 1923. The Egyptian Electoral Law was promulgated ten days later. The Constitution and the Electoral Law, were not, therefore, drawn up or sanctioned by any National Constituent Assembly, as in France or U.S.A. But an American authority, Dr. O'Rourke says: " The Constitution was not imposed upon the country by a parliamentary decree of Great Britain, but found its origin in the actions of the existing functionaries of the Egyptian Government. It is impossible to argue that it finds its ultimate authority in the Declaration of February 28, 1922, for one seeks in vain for a mention of it there" (*vide*—"The Juristic Status of Egypt and the Sudan," 1935, pp. 65-66). I cannot agree with Dr. O'Rourke. The Constitution was drawn up under the dominant influence of Great Britain. Notwithstanding the letter of Lord Allenby to King Fuad, accompanying the Declaration of 1922, it remains a fact that the Constitution was framed when Egypt was occupied by the British Army (the Army is still there, and it has not been removed from Egypt, even for a single day, between 1882 and 1940). It is also well known that the Constitution was drawn up subject to the reservations contained in the Declaration of 1922. The British High Commissioner threatened to review the Declaration and to throw the Constitution overboard if it referred to the Sudan, or the British Army in Egypt or the Capitulations, etc., and he actually intervened twelve times, even in such purely domestic matters as the Public Assemblies Bill of 1927. The Egyptian Constitution, was not, therefore, drawn up freely ; and on strictly legal grounds, Egypt is not

even now a sovereign State. For, the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 was also drawn up at a time when Egypt was still occupied by British Forces; the treaty itself merely legalises the reservations of the Declaration of 1922, with certain amendments. But even assuming that it was signed and ratified quite freely by Egypt, still, following the accepted definition of sovereignty, we cannot but regard Egypt as a Client State (in the words of Mr. Lawrence); for, she has agreed to the "stationing of British forces" on her soil, and tied herself for all time to the foreign policy of Great Britain—a restraint which even the Dominions like South Africa and Australia, do not suffer. The reservations in the Declaration of 1922, legalised in the Treaty of 1936, are verily like the reservations contained in the Government of India Act, 1935, giving special powers to the Governor-General, and the Provincial Governors to intervene and even to suspend the constitution, if necessary, to discharge their special responsibilities for peace, minorities, native states, public services, etc. Neither can it be said that the people had any share in the framing of this constitution. It is true that the first Parliament of 1924 accepted and worked on the basis of this constitution. But it must be remembered that it was composed on the basis of an electoral law formed not by any Constituent Assembly, but by a Committee appointed by the King. Secondly, it should not be forgotten that, had the first Parliament refused to work the Constitution, the King in his turn might have refused to give the people any constitution at all. And certainly the Egyptians had no means, due to the presence of the British Army in Egypt, to force the King to give a more democratic constitution. Indeed, when it was found that parliamentary sovereignty was making its headway in Egypt, the King did not hesitate to nip it in the bud, even before the very eyes of the British who would neither tolerate any government by the majority party, *i.e.*, the Wafd, nor allow the people to take such measures as holding public demonstrations, meetings, etc., for compelling the King to yield to popular demands. The result was that the King became autocratic, dismissing popular ministers, suspending the constitution, changing electoral laws and carrying on government by decrees and with the help of self-constituted leaders like Yehia Pasha, Sidky Pasha, Ali Maher Pasha, etc.,—some of whom were palace officials, and almost all without any following in the country. A liberal interpretation of the constitution of 1923

might have helped the growth of parliamentary government in Egypt; but, by putting his own interpretations, by jealously exercising all his prerogatives, and even by introducing a new constitution in 1930, which increased his already excessive powers, the King ceaselessly tried to carry on a personal government. As Hans Kohn says: "The Egyptians had to carry on a two-fold struggle, against Great Britain and against their own king. It was a struggle not only for independence and sovereignty but also for parliamentary democracy, for assertion of the popular will as the source and director of political life" ("Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East," p. 79).

However, let us now proceed to give a brief description of the Constitution of Egypt, as it is at present. The Constitution of 1923 was suspended from July 19, 1928, to October 31, 1929, and was replaced by another Constitution on October 22, 1930, which was in force up to November 30, 1934. From December, 1934, to December, 1935, Egypt was governed by the King without a Constitution. In January, 1936, the Constitution of 1923 was restored by the King, and is now in force, together with the Electoral Law of 1923. It has a short preamble and 170 Articles, divided into seven topics, *viz.*, (1) Nature and Government of the State, (2) Rights and Duties of Egyptians, (3) Concerning Power, (4) Finances, (5) Armed Forces, (6) General Dispositions, and (7) Final and Temporary Provisions. Topic 3 is sub-divided into five chapters, *viz.* (1) General Methods, (2) Concerning King and His Ministers, (3) Concerning Parliament, (4) Judiciary, and (5) Provincial and Municipal Councils. Chapter 3 of Topic 3 is again divided into several sections, dealing with the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, etc. (For the Text of the Constitution of 1923, see Brt. and For. State Paps., Vol. CXVIII of 1923; also, *Current History*, Vol. XXV, Jan., 1927).

Rights of Egyptians

The Constitution declares Egypt to be a sovereign state, free and independent, having a hereditary monarch at the head and a system of representative government. Following the traditions of the written constitutions of America and Europe, Articles 2-22 mention the fundamental rights and duties of the Egyptian people. All Egyptians are equal before law and "enjoy equally civil and political rights, and are equally subservient to public responsibilities and obligations,"

without distinctions of race, tongue or religion (Art. 3). The Constitution guarantees the freedom of person, property, opinion, religion, press, communication and association within the limits set by law. The domicile is declared to be inviolable. Elementary education is obligatory for the younger Egyptians of both sexes. It is free in the public Maktabs (Art. 19). The right of petition is guaranteed to every Egyptian of good repute. But in practice these rights have not proved to be very real. Thus, the Wafd leaders were arrested and their papers suppressed by the government of Sidky Pasha in 1930, when they protested against Sidky's measures to modify the Constitution and the Electoral Law of 1924. Again in May, 1931, just before the General Election, pacific demonstrations were prevented and even the holding of the Wafd National Congress was prohibited by executive actions. Lastly, it cannot be forgotten that the petition of Nahas Pasha, submitted on January 23, 1938, before the Procurator General, for an enquiry into the attempt on his life made in November, 1937, in which he believed such prominent politicians like Mahmud Pasha (then Premier), and Ali Maher Pasha (then Chief of the Royal Cabinet) were involved, was simply rejected.

Sources of Governmental Authority

Articles 23-31 deal with the sources of governmental authority. All power emanates from the nation (in *Current History*, instead of the word "nation," we have "government"), and "is exercised in the manner established by the present constitution" (Art. 23). A very interesting question arises as to who was the sovereign authority that granted the constitution. Is he the King or is it the Parliament or the Nation? An Egyptian authority, Shoukri Nagib, says that as the preamble begins with these words: "Nous Roi d'Egypt, considerant.....ordonons", etc., the King is the source of the sovereign power. But another Egyptian authority El Sayed Sabrey is of opinion that "En pretant serment devant le Parliament lors de sa premiere reunion, le Roi a perdu tous droit sur la constitution" (see his "Le pouvoir Legislatiff et le pouvoir Executif en Egypt," 1930, p. 35). That is also the opinion of Dr. O'Rourke (*Ibid.*, p. 69). But considering the constitutional practices of Egypt from 1923 to 1940, especially the suspension of the constitution by the King, and the government by Royal Decrees, it seems that whatever might be the

letters of the constitution, the King was its grantor and even now continues to be the real sovereign authority in the State.

Article 24 vests the Legislative Power in the King concurrently with the Senate and the Chamber. The Executive Power belongs to the King "under conditions established by the present Constitution." The Judicial Power is exercised by the Courts whose decrees and sentences " are issued and executed in conformity with the law and in the name of the King " (Arts. 24-31).

The King

The Chief Executive in Egypt is the King. The throne was declared hereditary in the male line by primogeniture in the dynasty of Mohamed Ali. Failing such direct line, the Law of Succession of April 13, 1922, provides that the throne is to pass first to the King's brothers and their direct descendants by right of age, each King establishing a new House, and the succession being vested in his direct line. Ex-Khedive Abbas Hilmi is expressly excluded from the throne of Egypt; but his direct and legitimate descendants are not. One who is not a Moslem, or the son of Moslem parents or who is a female or a descendant of a female member of the Royal Family, is excluded from the throne. In case there is no heir to the throne, the King may name his successor with the consent of two-thirds of the members of the two Houses of Legislature, each of which must have at least three-fourths of its members present for this purpose. In case the King fails to name his successor, the two Houses must meet within eight days (in any case, on the ninth day) from the death of the king and elect his successor by a majority of two-thirds. At least three-fourths of the members must be present on such an occasion, if the election be held within eight days but if it is held afterwards, any number of the present and a simple majority of vote, will be sufficient.

The powers of the King are numerous and real. His body is inviolable. He sanctions and promulgates the laws and makes provisions for their execution. He summons, prorogues and dissolves the Parliament. He creates and confers titles, honours, civil and military rank and decorations. He has the right to pardon. He organises the public services. He can proclaim a state of siege. He is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Navy and the Air Forces. He

declares war, concludes peace and makes treaties of all sorts. He appoints and dismisses his ministers and ambassadors, etc. But in the letters of the constitution, there are certain limitations and conditions imposed upon the King. He must take an oath of loyalty to the Constitution (Art. 50); he "exercises his powers through the medium of his ministers" (Art. 48); he cannot be the chief of another state without the consent of the parliament; he cannot make any treaties of peace or alliance or commerce or navigation or those which affect the territories or public treasuries of Egypt, or which are prejudicial to the fundamental rights of the Egyptian citizens, without the assent of Parliament. The proclamation of a state of siege and the decrees made by the King to meet urgent needs, must be presented before the Parliament, which, if not in session, must be convoked in extra-session; otherwise they will cease to have power as laws. The King's power to adjourn the session of Parliament is subject to the limitation that "the adjournment may not exceed a month's time, nor be renewed in the same session without the consent of both Chambers" (Art. 39). The King's right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies is subject to two limitations; first, the act of dissolving the Chamber must contain the date of new election, which must be held within two months from the date of dissolution, and the new Chamber must meet within ten days following the elections. Secondly, the new Chamber cannot be dissolved "before settling the same question" for which the old one was dissolved (Art. 88-89). The King is empowered by Art. 40 to convoke Parliament for extra-sessions and to adjourn it. But this Article contains the following important provision, which was violated by King Fuad in 1930 under the instigation of Sidky Pasha, when the Wafd majority in the Chamber petitioned the King to convene the Parliament in extra-ordinary session: "This convocation (in extra-session) can take place also by petition signed by an absolute majority of the members composing one or the other of the two Chambers." Article 48, which says that the King exercises his powers through the medium of his ministers, is again clarified by Art. 65 which enjoins ministerial responsibility in these words: "When the Chamber of Deputies declares that it has no confidence in the Cabinet, the Ministry *must resign*. If the vote does not endorse, a minister should resign." This Article has again been violated by the King, on many occasions, assisted as he has been always by self-constituted leaders with no

CRCU 247

following in the country. Out of seventeen ministries the King had only three popular Wafd ministries, who were also driven out of office on account of their insistence upon a democratic interpretation of the Constitution. All the rest were the King's creatures. Lastly, the King's power to sanction and promulgate laws is subject to this condition that such laws must be approved by Parliament, while his vetoing power is restricted to returning a Bill, approved by Parliament, within a month for revision.

If the King does not return a bill within this period or if the bill returned in the aforesaid way, is passed again by a two-thirds majority of the members composing both Chambers, it becomes a Law and shall be promulgated. But if the Bill is not passed by this majority, then it cannot be discussed again in the same session. If in the following session the Bill is passed by the Parliament, "with the same majority," then it becomes a Law and shall be promulgated. But this article was rendered ineffective by the King who suspended the Parliament itself, for several times and years. The Constitution allows the King (and the Regents, during his minority) an allowance, known as the Civil List, to be fixed at each accession to the throne, for the duration of the reign. By Law No. 58 of 1938, the Civil List of King Farouk has been fixed at £E. 100,000 and the allowance for the Royal Family at £E. 100,000.

During the minority of the present King, a Council of Regency was appointed. The persons named by the late King Fuad in his sealed envelope, to be appointed Regents to his son, being dead and gone, the Parliament after discussion, accepted the three names proposed by Nahas Pasha, the leader of the majority party in the Chamber, on May 8, 1936. The Regency expired on July 29, 1937, when King Farouk reached his majority (18 years), according to lunar calender. By Article 55, however, the Council of Ministers is empowered to exercise the constitutional powers of the King, under its responsibility, during the period intervening between the date of the death of the King and the taking of oath by his successor or Regents. The King of Egypt has also a Royal Cabinet, presided over by a Chief who is appointed by the King and who exercises considerable influence over state-affairs. Sometimes, the Chief of the Royal Cabinet becomes the Premier of Egypt, when the King does not find any other individual to rely on (*e.g.*, Ali Maher Pasha was twice Chief and twice Premier, after the King had dismissed Nahas Pasha).

GS 1559

THE MINISTERS

The Council of Ministers is at the head of the State Department. Only Egyptians can be ministers ; no member of the ruling dynasty can be a minister under Article 59, which thereby secures ministerial independence. A practice has gradually grown up of including a Christian Egyptian as a minister. There were two Coptic Premiers, *viz.*, Burtos Pasha Ghali (1910) and Youssef Pasha Wahaba (1919), while under the Wafdist administration, there were two Copts in the Cabinet. As Merton says: " There is an unwritten law that every Cabinet should include at least one Christian Minister. It is consequently possible that the Premier may not in future be a Muslim " (*Ibid.*, p. 38).

Every decision of the King, in order to be effective, must be countersigned by the President of the Council of Ministers and the ministers concerned (Art. 60). Ministers are jointly and severally responsible to the Chamber of Deputies and " in no case can a verbal or written order from the King relieve a Minister of his responsibility " a provision which reminds one of Danby (Art. 61-62). Ministers have free access to both Houses, can answer questions put to them by the members of the Parliament, cannot accept any post or have any interest in commercial or financial enterprises, and must resign when they lose the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber by a two-thirds majority, can put ministers on trial for all infractions committed by them in the exercise of their functions. A Committee of the Chamber will conduct the accusation, while a special Court composed of seventeen judges, of whom eight are Senators elected by lot, eight Egyptian magistrates of the highest Court, taken by order of seniority, and one, the president of this highest court, who will be the Chairman of this Special Court, shall try the accused. In cases that are provided for, the Penal Code is to be applied ; in other cases, Special Law. Convictions are rendered by a majority of twelve votes. When a minister is accused, he must resign ; and when condemned, he cannot be pardoned except with the assent of the Chamber of Deputies. The principle of homogeneity has not developed in the Egyptian Cabinet system due to the King's persistent endeavour to establish coalition cabinets (all cabinets excepting the three Wafd Cabinets were coalition cabinets). Ministerial responsibility has been rendered a farce by the suspension of Parliaments, alterations of the Constitution, and by the resolute refusal of the

Cabinet, backed by the King, to resign even when it has been actually defeated in the Chamber. There are at present twelve departments, *viz.*, (1) Foreign Affairs ; (2) Interior ; (3) Finance ; (4) Agriculture ; (5) Justice ; (6) Defence ; (7) Health ; (8) Communications ; (9) Education ; (10) Commerce and Industry ; (11) Wakfs ; (12) Public Works.* A new Department was created in 1939, that of Social Services. Sometimes, two departments are taken charge of by the same minister, *e.g.*, the Premier Ali Maher Pasha was the Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Interior ; while in this Cabinet (1939), besides the ministers in charge of the above-mentioned departments, there were two ministers without portfolios.

The Senate

The Egyptian Parliament (Balraman) is composed of two Houses, the Senate (Majlis ash Shuyukh) and the Chamber of Deputies (Majlis ash Nuuwab). The number of Senators fluctuates, for it is based on the ratio of one Senator for every 1,80,000 inhabitants or fraction thereof, not lower than 90,000. The country is divided into equal electoral districts for the return of one Senator from each. Besides these elected Senators, the Constitution provides for two-fifths of the total number of Senators to be nominated by the King, *i.e.*, after determining the number of elected Senators on the aforesaid basis, the number of nominated Senators is settled at two-thirds of the former. The tenure of a Senator is ten years, but half of the Senators, elected or appointed are removed every five years. The President of the Senate is chosen by the King, and the two Vice-Presidents are elected by the Senators from amongst themselves, each for a period of two years. When the Chamber is dissolved, the session of the Senate also becomes automatically suspended. To be a Senator one must be a male Egyptian of 40 years, possessing sound mind and belonging to one of the following categories: Princes ; high state officers like Ministers, Diplomatic Representatives, etc.; Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies ; Under-Secretaries of State ; Presidents and Judges of the Court of Appeal ; Attorney-Generals ; Presidents of the Lawyers' Associations ; Officials of the State of the rank of Director-General past or present; high representatives of the Corps of Turkish Doctors of Law and of the Clergy ; retired general officers of the rank of Lewa ; members of the Chamber of

Deputies during two legislatures; landowners paying annual taxes of £E. 50 ; and persons of annual income of £E. 1,500 and taking part in business or belonging to a learned profession. The Egyptian Senate is thus a very important body representing, as it does, national wealth, wisdom and experience. · At present there are 147 members (after the election of May 17, 1936), distributed amongst the various parties as follows: Wafd—69 ; Saadist—15 ; Liberal Constitutional Party—13 ; Ittihad Es Shaabi—6 ; Wattani—1 ; Independents—33 ; Undecided—10.

The Chamber of Deputies

The members of the Chamber are all elected under the Law of 1923 on the basis of one Deputy for every 60,000 inhabitants or fractions thereof, but not less than 30,000. The Country is divided into single-member electoral districts. The Deputy must be 30 years of age or over. For the election of both the Senators and Deputies each group of thirty electors nominates one Delegate, and these Delegates again elect the Senators and the Deputies. Therefore, in Egypt election is by two-degrees under the Electoral Law of 1923. This system was replaced in 1924 by that of direct election—a measure introduced by Zaglul Pasha ; but at present, the indirect system prevails since the restoration of the Constitution in 1936. The primary voters must be male Egyptian subjects of 25 years of age or over, not suffering from any physical, mental or legal disqualifications. The life of the Chamber is five years, but it can be dissolved earlier by the King subject to the conditions noted above. The President and two Vice-Presidents of the Chamber are elected from among its members at the beginning of each ordinary session.

Both the Senators and the Deputies represent the whole nation. They must take an oath of loyalty to the King and to the Constitution. They are not bound by pledges. The Parliament is convoked by the King every year in ordinary session before the third Saturday of November, and " in default of being summoned, it meets automatically at this date " (Art. 96). But, as we have seen, this categorical provision was flagrantly violated by King Fuad, thrice within thirteen years. The sessions of the two Houses are to be simultaneous and to last ordinarily six months. Neither of the two Houses can take resolutions if the majority of its members are not

present (Art. 99). Every Bill must be referred to a Committee for examination and report. When it is adopted by one House, it will be sent by its President to the President of the other House. But if it is rejected, it cannot be brought up again in the same session (Art. 106). Every member is entitled to ask questions to the ministers, after giving a notice of at least eight days, except in case of urgency. He also enjoys all the privileges usually enjoyed by the legislators of western democracies, *i.e.*, freedom of discussion, freedom from arrest, etc., during the continuance of the session. Members of Parliament cannot accept any title or decoration unless it be military, during their term of office, and they are liable to be deprived of their commission by an adverse vote of the members of a House. After a delay of two months from the date of its vacancy, a seat must be filled up. The re-election of the Chamber and the renewal of half of the Senators are to take place during the sixty days that precede the expiration of their term ; otherwise, the terms are prolonged until the elections or the renewal. Each House makes its internal regulations for keeping order and prosecuting its business. The Ministers always have the right to demand an adjournment of the Chamber of Deputies for eight days after every vote of no-confidence. The King pronounces the close of the session. On important occasions the two Houses, convoked by the King, might meet jointly in Congress under the Presidency of the President of the Senate, and yet at the same time each might continue its separate constitutional functions.

But, in order to pass a resolution, there must be an absolute majority in each House, excepting in matters dealing with the budget, when an absolute majority of the total votes of the Congress will be sufficient (Art. 120-123).

The Parliament has full control over the revenues and expenditure of the state. No tax can be imposed except by right of law. No public loan or any financial liability can be contracted without the consent of Parliament, while monopolies and concessions can be granted only for a limited period and with its consent. Every year, at least three months before the financial year, the budget must be presented before it and voted topic by topic. The Chamber of Deputies has the special right of discussing and voting the budget, first. Article 140 definitely says that " the Parliamentary session cannot be closed before voting the budget "—a provision which King Faud violated so

often; while Article 141 guarantees the observance of the pledges given by Egypt for the security of her public and foreign debts—which again reminds us that the Constitution of 1923 was drawn up subject to the reservations contained in the Declaration of 1922. The Constitution also provides that the quota of the army, its organisation, the rights and duties of the soldiers as well as those of the police forces are to be determined by law (Articles 146-148) In Topic VI there are some general provisions which declare Islam as the State religion, Arabic as the official language, and forbid extradition of political refugees " without prejudice to international agreements for the protection of the social order." Article 154 prohibits the application of this constitution in any way that might affect the vested interests of the foreigners in Egypt, acquired " by virtue of laws, treaties or acknowledged customs " (Articles 149-54). The most important Article in the whole Constitution is 155. It declares categorically that " no disposition of the present constitution can *on any pretext whatever*, be suspended, except temporarily in times of war or state of siege, and *in a manner determined by the law. In any case, the assembling of Parliament, under conditions established by the present constitution, cannot be stopped.*" This most explict provision of the constitution was violated by the King on more occasions than one. For the revision, alteration or amendment of the constitution, a resolution declaring the necessity for such revision must be passed by an absolute majority of all the members of each House and receive the King's sanction. Then, after deliberation, the necessary amendments must be passed by a majority of two-thirds of the voters present. But on such an occasion, two-thirds of the total number of the members must be present to make the deliberations and voting valid. The King as well as each of the two Houses may propose amendments; but provisions relating to representation in Parliament, the order of succession to the throne and principles of liberty and equality, cannot be made subject to any revision whatsoever.

Local Government

Articles 132 and 133 provide for the establishment of Provincial and Municipal Governments, with their local Councils, where members are elected or nominated according to law. Egypt has been divided into 5 Governorships (Muhafzas) of principal towns and 14 Mudirs or

Provinces subdivided into districts or Markazas. These districts, ninety in number, are again subdivided into 3,000 circumscriptions, each under an "Omda," assisted by a "Sarraf," *i.e.*, a treasurer. Due to the existence of large number of foreigners in the following 14 towns, they are governed by Mixed Commissions composed of equal number of Europeans and Egyptians: -Alexandria, Beni Suef, Benha, Damanhur, Kafr-el-Zayat, Mahalla-el-Kubra, Mansura, Medinet-el-Faiyum, Minya, Mit Ghamr, Port Said, Tanta, Zagazig, Zifta. The Mixed Commissions in these towns, excepting that of Alexandria, cannot impose any new tax upon the non-Egyptian residents without their previous consent. Besides these, there are 56 towns having local commissions composed of only four elected members and two others nominated by the Central Government, for the protection of foreign interest. There are also 39 towns whose administrations are carried on by village councils composed of only four members, the Central Government having no power to nominate any foreigner in these councils. The Provincial Councils consist of two elected representatives from each Markaz, and are presided over by the Mudirs who are appointed by the Central Government. Among the functions of these Councils, the following are the most important : Elementary Education, Public Markets, Local Police, creation of new hamlets, etc. The Central Government has complete veto power over the actions of these provincial and local bodies of every description, especially when they overstep their power or injure the general good.

The Egyptian Judiciary

Pre-British judicial administration was the most rotten thing in Egypt. The first attempt to introduce reforms was made by Nubar Pasha and Lord Cromer. Matters relating to the personal status of the Egyptians were decided in the Cadi's Courts, while other civil and criminal matters were transferred to Tribunals of three classes, *viz.*, (1) the Courts of First Instance (Medjlis Ibtadieh), (2) three Courts of Appeals (Medjlis Estinaf), (3) a Superior Court of Cairo (Medjlis el Akham). The International Agreement, signed in 1875, transferred some civil and criminal cases in which foreigners were involved to the Mixed Tribunals; while all criminal cases in which only foreigners were involved, were tried by Consular Courts. In 1880 the Egyptian Government appointed a Commission for framing the necessary Codes

for the Native Courts as a result whereof the "Reglement Organique" was promulgated by a Khedival Decree on 17th November, 1881. There was a Court of First Instance in each Mudirieh with three judges, one of them being a European, forming the quorum. Above them were two Courts of Appeal, one for Upper and the other for Lower Egypt, each having five judges, two of them being Europeans. The French system of Administrative Courts was purposely omitted, while in the Corpus Juris a number of equitable provisions to meet the conditions of the poor *fellaheen* was incorporated. In 1905 Markaz Tribunals were established to expedite the administration of justice. In 1912 Cantonal Courts (two in each Markaz) superseded the former, while the latter were also abolished in 1930, their jurisdiction being transferred to the Summary Tribunals (for details, *vide* Cmd. 6875, Egypt, No. 3 (1913); also W. Fraser Rae—"Egypt To-day" (1892), Chapter XI; and A. Milner—"England in Egypt," Chapter X).

Due to capitulatory rights, Egyptian judicial system has become very cumbrous and complex. It is summarily described in Articles 30 and 124-131 of the Constitution of 1923. The jurisdictions of the Courts are determined by the law of Egypt; the judges are appointed and dismissed "according to conditions determined by law," and they are independent. "No power of the State can interfere in their proceedings" (Art. 124). The Courts of Egypt can be divided into four groups, (1) National Courts, (2) the Courts of Personal Status, (3) the Consular Courts and (4) the Mixed Tribunals. The National Courts are absolutely under the control of the Egyptian Government. They exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction in all matters concerning Egyptian subjects only, excepting cases of domestic relations or personal status. The substantive and procedural laws enforced in these Courts are of independent Egyptian origin and have no connection with the other judicial structures in the country. These Courts are divided into three classes, *viz.*, Summary, District and Appeal Courts. There are 98 Summary Courts and 9 Judicial Delegations, each presided over by a single judge, having civil jurisdiction in cases up to £E 250 in value, and criminal jurisdiction in cases punishable with fine or by imprisonment for not more than three years. Of the District or Central Courts, there are 11, each of the Chambers of which consists of three judges. These Courts have both original jurisdiction in Civil cases of higher values and appellate jurisdiction, hearing appeals from the Summary Tribunals. Serious crimes and all press offences are tried

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by special monthly Assizes formed by three judges of the Court of Appeal. There are only two such Courts of Appeal, one at Cairo and the other at Assiout, hearing appeals from the District Courts. In 1931 a Court of Cassation was set up at Cairo, composed of ten judges divided into two Chambers of five judges each, one for Civil Appeal and the other for finally reviewing criminal cases on questions of law. These national courts established all over Egypt, have separate bars of their own and employ Arabic language.

The second class of Courts in Egypt are those that deal exclusively with questions of personal status, *i.e.*, marriage, divorce, probate, guardianship of minors and lunatics, appointments of tutors and mandatories. They have no jurisdiction over foreigners who were subject to their Consular Courts in those matters, before the Montreux Convention, and are now subject to the Mixed Tribunals. All religious communities have the right to be tried in these matters in Courts of their religious heads or Patriarchs.

The third class of Courts in Egypt was the Consular Courts which had originated as a result of the treaties entered into by Turkey with the Christian States, granting their nationals special commercial privileges, immunity from direct taxation, inviolability of domicile, protection from arbitrary arrest and exemption from the jurisdiction of the Native Courts. The Consular Courts, up till 1937, had exclusive jurisdiction over (1) all civil litigations between foreigners of the same nationality ; (2) all crimes and misdemeanours committed by foreigners, excepting those that came before the Mixed Courts ; and (3) all questions of personal status affecting their nationals. But the Montreux Convention of May 9, 1937, abolished these Courts and transferred their jurisdiction to the Mixed Tribunals for a period of twelve years.

The fourth and the last class of Courts in Egypt is the Mixed Tribunals (for the Texts of the various Portocols with France, Germany and Great Britain, of 1874-75, establishing the Mixed Tribunals see Lord Lloyd—" Egypt since Cromer," Appendix "A", pp. 363-75). The jurisdiction of these Mixed Courts covers all civil and criminal cases arising between Egyptians (including the Egyptian Government) and foreigners ; between foreigners of different nationalities ; and since the Montreux Convention, all cases between foreigners of even the same nationality. But it does not cover cases which involve " acts of Sovereignty " of the Egyptian States. In case of

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conflict of jurisdiction between the Mixed Courts and the National Courts the former's view-point is upheld. The Codes which these Mixed Courts apply are determined by treaties, statutes and judicial decisions of these Courts. Modifications of these Mixed Codes can be made only by the International Legislative Assembly composed of the judges of the Mixed Courts of Appeals and a few additional members. But even this Assembly cannot pass any law imposing direct taxes upon the Capitulatory Powers.

The Mixed Courts consist of a Court of Appeal sitting at Alexandria and three District Courts sitting at Cairo, Alexandria and Monsorah. The judges of these Courts are chosen by the Egyptian Government from among the Egyptians and the foreigners in a certain fixed proportion. But though the Egyptian Government, while choosing the foreign judges, consults unofficially with the Ministers of Justice of the Capitulatory Powers, yet its choice is not strictly confined to their nationals (see Jasper Y. Brinton—"The Mixed Courts of Egypt," p. 79). The Judges of the Mixed Tribunals are strictly Egyptian Officials appointed by the Egyptian King and paid out of the Egyptian Treasury. Their writs run in the name of the Egyptian King, while their judgments are enforced by Egyptian authorities. But, under the Montreux Convention, the Egyptian Parliament cannot alter the Mixed Codes at least for a period of twelve years from 1937. (For some other provisions as to the appointment of the Attorney-General and the two Advocates-General, see the Montreux Convention of 1937.)

Political Parties in Egypt

The origin of the Egyptian political parties may be traced back to the days of the revolt of Arabi Pasha, the great nationalist leader who demanded constitutional Government in Egypt as early as 1881. The introduction of the British element in Egyptian politics complicated the political issues, as it was no longer a question of merely internal distribution of powers. Most of the older parties were common in their hostility to British occupation of the country, while there were some who were marked by their loyalty to the King as against the popular agitators. But since the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance of 1936, which was signed on the Egyptian side by the representatives of all political parties in the country, excepting the

Wattani, these parties are now "faced with a redefinition of their programmes in which national defence, finance and social reform are receiving careful attention "("Political Handbook of the World—1939," p. 56).

Of the existing Political Parties, the Wattani or the National Party is the oldest, founded as it was on October 22, 1907, by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. It is an extreme wing of the public opinion led by Fikry Abaza Bey, and demanding nothing less than complete and immediate withdrawal of all British forces from Egypt, absolute independence of the country, recall of the dethroned Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, and neutralisation of the Suez Canal under Egyptian protection. It demands the assertion of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan and the cession of such regions as Berber and Zeila on the Red Sea. At present the party has few followers.

The Liberal Constitutional Party was established on October 29, 1922, under the presidency of Adli Yeghen Pasha who subsequently left it. It is now led by Mahmud Pasha and is supported by the aristocrats, monied class and the intellectuals. Its programme is a gradual improvement of the social and economic conditions of the country and moderation in the political relation with Great Britain. But it also wants complete independence for Egypt, her sovereignty over the Sudan and internally a limited monarchy.

The Wafd was formally formed in April, 1924, under the leadership of the great nationalist, Saad Zaglul Pasha, after the first election under the constitution of 1923. But as early as 1919, it was the only party in Egypt which commanded the unstinted allegiance of the people. It has set up district and local committees throughout the country, and had such a complete organisation that Lord Milner was compelled to acknowledge it in 1920 as the only representative body of the people. Its leaders and followers have sacrificed their lives and suffered long terms of imprisonment to free the country from foreign yoke and internal autocracy. After Zaglul's death in 1927, the party is now under the leadership of Nahas Pasha. Like other parties, it demands the complete independence of the country, the withdrawal of British Forces from Egyptian soil, and recognition of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan. At present, its most characteristic programme consists of calling a National Assembly, complete Parliamentary government with nominal powers for the King and direct suffrage for the people.

The fourth Party in Egypt is the Ittihad-es-Shaabi or the Popular Union Party. It is popular only in name and has very few followers. It is made up of the union of the Ittihad with the Shaabi Party of Ismail Sidky Pasha. The Ittihad is a Palace Party, founded on January 10, 1925, by Yehia Ibrahim Pasha, with the support of the King and the Court. Its object is specially to preserve, consolidate and even increase the powers of the King. Its present leader is Hilmi Issa Pasha. The Shaabi Party of Sidky Pasha was formed in 1930 just before the introduction of the reactionary constitution of that year. Its object was also to preserve the Royal prerogatives and to suppress the influence of the popular element in the Chamber, by introducing amendments to the constitution and holding elections under two-degree schemes.

The fifth and the last party in Egypt, also the latest, is the Saadist Party. It was formed in 1938 by Dr. Ahmed Maher, the leader of the dissident Wafdists, as a result of disagreement with the policy of Nahas Pasha. The Saadists profess to follow strictly the political principles of Saad Zaglul Pasha, and, it is said, that there is no fundamental difference between their ideologies and those of the Wafdists.

The strength of the various political parties of Egypt in the Chamber of Deputies, after the election of April, 1938, stood as follows:—Liberal Constitutional—93 ; Saadist—89 ; Ittihad-es-Shaabi—19; Wafd—13 ; Wattani—3 ; Independents—47.

TRANSCENDENTALISM IN THE POETICAL WRITINGS OF SAMUAL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

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II

IN the company of Wordsworth, Coleridge left for Germany in September, 1798, and though his friend returned earlier, he stayed in the country of the metaphysicians till the end of November, 1799, learning its language, literature and philosophy. "For Wordsworth," Muirhead rightly points out, "it was merely the 'change of sky,' wandering 'among unknown men' and writing 'home thoughts from abroad.' To Coleridge it was a pilgrimage of the spirit—an opportunity 'to finish his education'." [1] Coleridge hoped to gain by it a deeper insight into his own heart, and looked upon "the realisation of the German scheme as of great importance to my intellectual activity, and, of course, to my moral happiness," as he wrote to Poole in August, 1798.

It has often been remarked that Coleridge learnt his transcendental philosophy in the school of Kant. There could not be any thing farther from the truth than such a view. We have the reiterated statement of the poet himself denying such a servile indebtedness. To make Coleridge an imitator is not only to minimise unjustly the greatness and depth of the poet's mind, but to deny that law of continuity of thought according to which the English philosophy of the 18th century was gradually assuming that spiritual mantle to which Kant in Germany gave the name of "Transcendentalism." It was not a purely exotic doctrine which Coleridge learned in a foreign land and brought with him to be planted in English soil. "Not only was his philosophic education very far advanced when he came into contact with German thinkers," says Charpentier, "but that contact itself is only a further step upon the road he had been travelling for four years at the least." [2] If

[1] J. H. Muirhead : "Coleridge as Philosopher," p. 49.
[2] J. Charpentier : "Coleridge the Sublime Somnambulist," p. 171.

he assimilated it "deeply and rapidly" it was because he found in it a confirmation of the thought which he had reached, to a very great extent, by his own independent thinking after he had found that the problems of the shaping power of imagination, his attitude towards Nature, and the "moral and practical elevation of the soul,"[1] could not be explained by any of the current theories, not even by the idealism of Berkeley and the "soulless pantheism of Spinoza."[2] There was little "acquisition of new truths,"[3] but a strength of confidence was gained when Coleridge found his own earlier convictions systematically and scientifically stated by the German philosophers. Thenceforward he became their great exponent, a detailed account of which is given in a chapter on "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Kant" by Mr. Wellek in his admirable book "*Immanuel Kant in England.*" There Mr. Wellek has clearly pointed out the fragmentary nature of the Coleridgian system which very often contradicts itself. It is not our purpose to recount all that has been said on the subject of Coleridge the philosopher. We are concerned only with those thoughts and beliefs which Coleridge has expressed in his poems, and which are not paradoxical, unlike his metaphysical exposition of the German philosophy, compared by Mr. Wellek to structure that "has here a storey from Kant, there a part of a room from Schelling, there a roof from Anglican theology and so on."[4]

The influence of Kant on the intellectual progress of Coleridge thus came late, but came with a determining force. He "took possession of me as with a giant's hand,"—is the grateful confession of Coleridge recorded by him in his "*Biographia Literaria.*" Kant supplied him with the date he was looking for. In the philosopher's recognition of the "categorical imperative of the conscience" and Reason, the poet found a justification of his own conception of a supersensible reality which he had formed after his study of Plotinus and the mystics. From Kant he accepted the definition of understanding, by which he meant "the faculty of thinking and forming judgments on the notices furnished by the senses, according to certain rules existing in itself."[5] He differed, however, from Kant in his conception of reason that denied to the human mind the power of

[1] A Brandl : *Op. Cit.*, p. 227.
[2] J. Shawcross : *Op. Cit.*, xli.
[3] J. H. Muirhead : "Coleridge as Philosopher," p. 48.
[4] Rene Wellek : *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.
[5] "The Friend."

knowing " in experience a super-sensible reality as the ultimate source of phenomena."[1] Kant could not conceive of reason as passing " beyond the distinction of the understanding to the unity that underlies them and gives to them such reality as they possess."[2] He "did human reason an injustice in placing that truth in a noumenal reality which was wholly beyond its grasp."[3] Here Coleridge took the aid of the Platonic theory of Ideas as the real objects of knowledge, and found in the existence of a common Mind a ground of unity. He also spoke of the existence of an innate power in man to which the ideas of God, freedom, and immorality existed as regulative hypotheses. Their haunting presence he had himself felt at times of deep intuition which, according to him, was the highest form of Reason. The definition of this faculty in man receives its noblest form in the following lines written by Coleridge in the conclusion of his paper " *On the Constitution of the Church and State.*" He says:

> " When'er the mist, that stands 'twixt God and thee,
> Deflects to a pure transparency,
> That intercepts no light and adds no stain—
> There Reason is, and then begins her reign!"

We may characterise these years as the period of fruition of the intellectual genius of Coleridge just as the Stowey days had been that of his poetic art. In the first period he had experienced with the various systems of thought, but none could give him that spiritual satisfaction which he was hankering after. In the second period, he had laid himself open to the influences of Nature which interacting with his own mind had made his heart experience an exaltation. They stimulated his feelings and imagination, and his poetry passed without any effort from picturesque description to higher meditation. His " genial spirit " poured forth songs of delight and spiritual ecstasy as a passive instrument over which the breeze of inspiration played and brought forth sweet music. Those were the days when he believed in the active influence of the pleasures of the senses on the mind of the observer. But now he had reached a point of view that revolted against the idea of the passiveness of mind. The change was definitely pronounced by Coleridge in his letter to Poole, written in

1 A. E. Powell: " Romantic Theory of P etry," p. 93.
2 J. H. Muirhead: " Coleridge as Philosopher," p. 93.
3 *Ibid.*

1801: "Newton," he wrote, "was a mere materialist. Mind, in his system, is always passive, a lazy Looker-on on an external world. If the mind be not passive, if it be indeed made in God's Image, and that, too, in the sublimest sense, the Image of the Creator, there is ground for suspicion that any system built on the passiveness of the mind must be false as system." He reverts to this charge of passiveness of the mind in the philosophic systems of the eighteenth century, in his later writings, and calls the doctrine of Necessity "the irreligious metaphysics of modern infidels." He has become a believer in the "existence of a free, active energy in the mind of men." "How flat, how wretched," he wrote to Southey in 1803, "is Hartley's solution of the phenomena (of memory). .....I almost think that ideas never recall ideas, as far as they are ideas, any more than leaves in a forest create each other's motion—the breeze it is that runs through them—it is the soul, the state of feeling." Thus fell the last stronghold of "the sophistry of the Hartlean system of association" before the triumphant force of transcendental idealism, Coleridge enthusiastically announced his deliverance in a letter to Pool in 1804 in the following words: "All praise to the Great Being, who has graciously enabled me to find my way out of that labyrinth den of sophistry (the pernicious doctrine of Necessity.")

There are not many poems written by Coleridge during this period of his life which ran to a little over three decades. A perusal of the chronological list of poems of this time shows that the number of poetic composition of worth during these days does not exceed a dozen. In the words of Traill, "the blossoming time of his poetic genius was over. We now pass from the green wealth of summer foliage into the well-nigh naked wood of later autumn,"[1] which still bears marks of its past richness and splendour. It cannot be denied that most of the poems are steeped in sadness, but they are by no means "eccentric" as some critics like to call them. They acquaint us with the depth and grandeur of sorrow, not only in "resignation and calm" but also in the bitterest moods of self-reproach. Their real importance, however, lies in the fact that they give us the final stage in the evolution of that philosophic conviction which he has been endeavouring to reach so long. In his dismay and vexation of mind he finds refuge from them in abandonment to his pet theories of philosophy.

[1] H. D. Traill: "Coleridge," p. 39.

They explained to him how the sights of external Nature, which he once used to gild with "heavenly alchemy," could no more bring to him relief and "lift the smothering weight from off" his heart. That the mind is not an automaton but an active, creative force, we have seen Coleridge asserting much earlier, but now he declares the complete supremacy of the human mind over Nature. It is the creative energy of the human mind alone that invests external Nature with life, freshness, and glory, with a "wedding garment" or a "shroud" according to its own mood. It is the soul of the watcher that projects itself outside, fills the world with life and makes Nature stand before it as a living presence. Hence the subjective idealism of Berkeley and Fichte poetically expressed by Coleridge in the following words:

> "O Lady! we receive but what we give,
> And in our life alone does Nature live."[1]

Nature receives all her "colour, warmth, beauty and life" from the "inward energy of the soul," to the extent to which that energy is active. In the psychology of Coleridge, however, it is not the intellect alone that determines the relationship, but it is the function of the "soul," which the poet defines as the power that "within the mind

> "By vital breathings secret as the soul
> Of vernal growth, oft quickens in the heart
> Thoughts all too deep for words!"[2]

It is a combination of the intellectual and emotional in man that forms the golden key to the spiritual in Nature. So the poet sings:

> "Ah! from the soul itself must issue forth,
> A light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud
> Enveloping the Earth—
> And from the soul itself must there be sent
> A sweet, a potent voice, of its own birth,
> Of all sweet sounds the life and element."[3]

1 "*Dejection : An Ode.*"
2 "To William Wordsworth."
3 "Dejection : An Ode."

The same philosophy dealing with the mysteries of the human soul is once more expressed in the lines "*To William Wordsworth.*" He tells us how Wordsworth was the first to sing:

> "Of tides obedient to external force,
> And currents self-determined, as might seem,
> Or by some inner power; of moments awful,
> Now in thy inner life, and now abroad,
> When power streamed from thee, and thy soul received
> The light reflected as a light bestowed."[1]

Nature could not act independently or determine the reflections of man. She only mirrored his emotions, and so when the heart was not affected she too remained mute. "This strong music in the soul,.....this beautiful and beauty-making power"[2] of the mind, therefore, is Joy or the emotional life experienced in the "purest hour" of deep thought. "Joy," exclaims the poet,

> ".....is the spirit and the power,
> Which wedding Nature to us gives in dower,
> A new Earth and new Heaven,
> Undreamt of by the sensual and the proud—
> Joy is the sweet voice, Joy the luminous cloud—
> We in ourselves rejoice!
> And thence flows all that charms our ear or sight,
> All melodies the echoes of that voice,
> All colours a suffusion from that light."[3]

"Joy" that has been celebrated here with much rapture is not "to be confounded," as Shawcross has pointed out, "with the gaiety of transient moods.....The "joy" which Coleridge speaks of is rather the permanent serenity underlying the changing affections of a soul which has either resolved, or has never known, the strife of opposing elements."[4] It is born of mystic communings with the Supreme Reality which exalts the soul above the pettiness of transitory things. Participating in the Common Mind of the universe, it enables the human mind, concentrated within itself, to behold in the objects before it a reflex of its own idea which is no other than the one God intended them to reveal. It is the attitude of a contemplative

1 "To William Wordsworth."
2 "Dejection: An Ode."
3 *Ibid.*
4 J. Shawcross: *Op. Cit.*, xxxix.

mystic who has realised God within, and cares no more to search for His foot-prints in Nature.

Coleridge, however, could not entirely discard reality. His love for the beauty of Nature was too deep to fail him for long. In the "*Biographia Literaria*" he deplores Fichte's "hostility to Nature as lifeless, godless, and altogether unholy." So, side by side with his pessimistic attitude towards her, we have nature-poems that speak to us of the deep spiritual experiences in her companionship They also reveal to us the fact that genuine inspiration in him had not completely died out, though its visitation had become less frequent. But when it did come, he was capable of exercising his poetic faculties with the same ease and power as of old. Nature, then, was a symbol to be correctly understood only by those who brought to her a loving heart and an expanded soul. It was for him a haven of rest from the tumult of the soul within and yielded to him peace, joy, and divine thoughts. He wrote in 1803: "I never find myself alone within the embracements of rocks and hills..... The further I ascend from animated nature.....the greater in me becomes the intensity of the feeling of life. Life seems to me then a universal spirit, that neither has nor can have an opposite! God is everywhere, and where is there room for death?" In the ocean he finds an emblem of eternity which conjures up the entire panorama of human existence, where time is transcended, and the past and the future are displayed to the mental vision of the poet. In that mood of "silent adorations" the soul forsakes its fleshly habitation, makes a "blessed shadow of this earth," and derives all its health-giving hopes and aspirations from above. A similar attitude of mind, we find in the "*Hymn before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni*" (1802). The subject he borrowed from German poetess, Fredrike Brun, but, in the words of De Quincey, he "created the dry bones of the German outlines into fullness of life." While gazing upon the mountain his imagination soars high into spiritual regions, oblivious of its immediate surroundings, and makes him feel as if he is standing in the very presence of the Deity, paying due adoration. He exclaims:

> "O dread and silent Mount! I gazed upon thee,
> Till thou still present to the bodily sense,
> Didst vanish from my thought; entranced in prayer
> I worshipped the Invisible alone."

The happy ecstasy gradually grows in intensity, and the poet begins to soar upwards into an atmosphere that gradually brings about an "attempering of his body and spirit, till his total being vibrated with one pulse alone, and thought became merged in contemplation." [1] He perceives a deep and essentially divine reality beneath the shows of earthly things, and the consciousness of his own kinship to it gives him secret joy. He says:

"Yet, like some beguiling melody,
So sweet, we know not we are listening to it,
Thou, the meanwhile, wast blending with my thought,
Yea, with my life and life's own secret joy:
Till the dilating Soul, enwrapt, transfused,
Into the mighty vision—there
As in her natural form, swelled vast to Heaven!"

The Divine Presence he feels interfused not only around him, but also manifested within him, conferring upon him the highest bliss of immortality.

"God is with me, God is in me!
I cannot die if Life be Love," [2]

is the triumphant conclusion of the poet as a result of his edifying experience. In connection with all these utterances, we must note a few important points which would summarise the attitude of the poet during these years. He believed in the independent and unrestricted activity of the mind but could not, like Berkeley and Fichte, discard Nature altogether. He was with Schelling, whose disciple he became in the second decade of the century, in his avowal of the reality of Nature and the important part it played in the spiritual advancement of man. The human mind could not act in a vacuum. It would, in that case, be following an illusion, an *ignis fatuus*. Its ambition could only be achieved if it took the aid of the objective word, projected its inner self into it, and comprehended the "One life within us and abroad." The human heart, thus speaking to Nature, and she, made alive by the human heart, would exchange a spiritual language which an unsympathetic and impotent intellect, shut up in the domain of the actual, could never understand. The spiritual journey, however lies through the stages of pantheism and mysticism, but the poet takes

[1] Morley's Introduction in Table Talk.
[2] "On Revisiting the Sea-Shore."

particular care never to make any of these stages his destination. The divine is perceptible in and through Nature, he admits, but he avoids the pitfall of pantheism by refusing to succumb to the creed of its nature-worship. It is at best a symbol and nothing more. It would be lowering the dignity of the human soul to make it bow down to Nature, which, though it has the same divine origin, is yet subservient to man. The danger of a mystic idealism which turns its back upon the world and its beauty, is also avoided by frequent insistence on their reality. Even in the perfect state of contemplation when his thought is lifted above individual consciousness into a mood of divine transport, the object fades away from his thought but remains present to the bodily senses, feeding the flame of his soul through its "lessons of love and earnest piety."[1] When both are, in this manner, welded together, the destination of transcendentalism is reached. The consciousness of an ever-present but transcendental reality is enjoyed by the intelligence of man that percieves in Nature, without and within, one Universal Reason. Everything finds a proper place in the plan as worked out by that Reason which is their life and being. The silent and unconscious processes of Nature reveal the common and vital unity of life in divine wisdom and love and proclaim that if the complicated and complex universe is a mystery God is its only solution. This philosophical faith of Coleridge took a deep tinge of orthodoxy during his later years. He not only believed in a personal God, but also asserted the doctrines of the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ. He celebrates this with full Christian zeal in his last poem, "*My Baptismal Birthday.*"

The doctrine of immortality has been based by Coleridge, as far as his poetical works are concerned, partly upon the Platonic conception of a pre-natal existence which makes immortal life a logical necessity, and partly upon faith in the existence of God and the foundations of rational ethics. The Platonic creed that

> "We lived, ere yet this robe of flesh we wore,"[2]

he voiced in his child-poems of his first period. Long before Wordsworth spoke of "trailing clouds of glory do we come," the imaginative mind of Coleridge had discovered the "lambent glories

> "That play around a sainted infant's head,"[3]

1 "To Nature."
2 "Sonnet Composed on a Journey Homeward."
3 "To a Friend."

and had hailed the child as " untaught, yet wise " ! It was to him

> " Of the kingdom of the Blest
> Possessor, not inheritor,"[1]

because it was neither blasted by sin, nor faded by " doubt, or Fear, or Woe, " which mars " God's light within."[2] But growing up in a world of temptations, he feels conflicting impulses within of which the one impels him to higher things while the other chains him down. It is a choice between being what God desires him to be and seeking the end within himself. The former is conformity with the Divine Will and leads to Goodness, the latter is an act of self-determination and leads to ignorance and vice. It is the high calling of the human reason to determine its own course and to utilise the opportunity of this life to gain greater nearness to God in the next by rendering a good account of its trust. This seems to be the main current of thought in " *The Suicide's Argument.*" To weak-minded people who would fain lay the hand of violence upon them themselves, the poet says that what they consider to be the end is not really so. He asks them to " think first what you are ! Call to mind what you were ! " and then to remember what explanation they can give if Great Nature asks them :

> "I gave you innocence, I gave you hope,
> Gay health, and genius, and an ample scope.
> Return you me guilt, lethargy, despair? "

They should not conceive for a moment, as he says in the poem, " *Human Life*," that " dead, we cease to be," and " total gloom " swallows up " life's brief flash for aye." Such a conception would reduce man to a " vessel, purposeless, unmeant," a " surplus of nature's dread activity," created merely by a " blank accident." It would divest him of all feelings and emotions, all springs of action, and make life dreary, with no joy in the present nor hope for the future. It would make his " being's being a contradiction," for intuitively the human soul looks forward to infinity of existence, and to the spiritual region beyond as the home from which it came and as its ultimate destination. If life is a great trial beset with afflictions and despair, it is equally a great opportunity to work out God's purpose and make oneself fit for the inheritance of Heaven. The

[1] " On an Infant Which Died Before Baptism."
[2] " On Berkeley and Florence Coleridge."

consciousness of this end is a perennial source of strength, and enables man, "with heedful heart" to "know and find" the presence of God[1] within him and around. Drawing "the breath of the true life"[2] in Him:

> "Joy's bosom-spring shall steady flow;
> For though 'tis Heaven Thyself to see,
> Where but Thy Shadow falls Grief cannot be."[3]

It will end man's misery and woe, and will make him feel that immortality is his birth-right, which cannot be snatched away by death. Such was the glorious consummation of human existence and the grandeur of its doom which Coleridge pictured to himself. It was not an act of simple faith (and faith had become very strong in him during his later life) but it was a personal experience, incommunicable in words, and yet attested by all those who have gone through similar moods of divine rapture.

In Coleridge, acordingly, we have a spirit hankering after the Infinite and the Absolute. In a search for the ideal he investigated every branch of speculative thought. He tried to read the riddle of life and solve the mystery of the universe by seeking an answer from the various schools of thought, both old and new. While Plato, Plotinus, and Boehme succeeded to a great extent in satisfying his mystical tendencies, and helped him in achieving a glimpse of the Godhead, he found a better explanation of the processes of the workings of the human mind in the doctrines upheld by Berkeley, Hartley, and Godwin. To the conclusions which he reached through the aid of all these divergent schools of thought, he added his own transcendental outlook which he later found systematised and scientifically expressed by Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. His struggling spirit feasted on the ambrosia of transcendental mysteries, beyond the narrowness of creeds, but could not remain long with the gods. His deep-rooted Anglicanism asserted itself more and more as he pursued his speculative studies. In the end it made him its devotee and prompted him to the effort of fitting the elements of German thought into the frame-work of Christian orthodoxy. The result was "a philosophy of the dualism of the head and heart."[4] In the

[1] "A Hymn."
[2] "My Baptismal Birthday."
[3] "A Hymn."
[4] Rene Wellek: "Immanuel Kant in England," p. 134.

region of pure intellect he blundered and failed, but in the outpourings in verse of the philosophy of his heart we have the true light of his genius. Their flames mount high,—steady, bright, and luminous—before the sacred altar of the Muse. He thereby fulfilled his own dictum that "no man was ever yet a great poet, without being, at the same time, a profound philosopher." His great contribution to the history of English thought lies in the fact that he revived in his countrymen that "inward longing, inward chastening, inward joy"[1] which they had long forgotten. This he has done not dogmatically, but through his melodious verses where he speaks of his own experiences of complete absorption in the vision of the Divine, his longing to live in intimate relation with the Supreme Being by conceiving moral and spiritual values as originating from the eternal laws of Divine Mind and Will.

[1] W. Pater: "Coleridge's Writings.

AN ENQUIRY INTO IDEALISM IN HINDU MARRIAGE

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THE pattern for ultimate good in the life of the Hindus is determined in terms of spirituality. It is *Dharma* which is believed to 'uphold' and 'sustain' the phenomena and relations of life.[1] Here spirituality takes its origin in life, develops in and through the course of life and attains realisation also out of life. Mr. Havell makes a true observation that "religion in India is hardly a dogma but a working hypothesis of human conduct adapted to different stages of spiritual developments and different conditions of life." The entire fabric of society as is based upon the scheme of *Varṇāśrama* discloses nothing but the characteristics of spiritual and psycho-ethical discipline. It is in this respect that *Dharma* may be said to possess abundant values of real interest for Hindu India.

The Hindu marriage is primarily based upon spirituality—it being deemed altogether as a creation of the spirit. In its entire significance it represents neither a phenomenon of subjective arbitrariness nor a product of so-called natural law. On the other hand, like other phenomena of order, its origin is traced to some 'divine essence,'[2] which embodies transcendental perfection of consciousness and therefore competent to account for the supreme idealities that are associated with it. This theory of divine origin bears the implication that marriage as an ideal institution must be the creation of a divine mind or of a mind having the gift of divine insight and reason. The spiritual import of marriage is looked up to have been founded on some supra-sensuous experience, which man, as he is constituted, can hardly discover for himself. And it is from this belief that marriage as a religious institution is supposed to have been introduced by the Law of a Divine Being, who regulates and conducts the destiny of the world.

[1] *Cf.* The *Mahābharata*, Karṇaparva, LXIX. 59, 'Dhāraṇāddharmamityāhuḥ.'
[2] See for discussion the present writer's article, "The Hindu Conception of Law," published in the *Calcutta Review*, November, 1938, pp. 194-202.

According to the Brahmanic doctrine, marriage is a religious sacrament. With this ceremony is associated the starting point of the household order of life, which brings in its wake newer phases of duties to be jointly discharged by man and wife. The Hindu ethics of the householder regards man not only as a member of race and society but also as one forming a part and parcel of the cosmic or universal life with which he is related in a way either explicit or implicit. The ceremony of marriage which binds the two souls together as if to form one component whole paves the way for the realisation of a kind of metaphysical unity. The common share of duties by two persons in wedlock, and the joint destiny that leads them onward, tend to actuate the feelings of unity, in which glimmers the consciousness of universal unity. The code of duties laid down by the Śāstrakāras with regard to the Hindu householder bears on its face an evidence that the life of marriage is one of spiritual discipline where union attests to a super-individual state of realisation.

The fulfilment of religious obligation of life constitutes an all-important element of the status of the householder. Wedding is an induction of wife into the new house of her husband, where both *he* and *she* are installed to the estate of householder to jointly discharge the obligation, which extends from gods to every living creature of the world. Man as a cosmic being is integrally bound up in an indissoluble tie of relation with others, be that relation direct or not. The Hindu conception that a man is born indebted to every grade of beings, from gods to the lower animals,[3] seeks to establish this view that no part of the householder's duty is to be accounted in terms of his selfish efficiency. '*To give*' and '*not to ask for any thing*' is the chief concern of his life. And it is to be noticed with interest that the discharge of so-called obligations forms a daily routine of absolute duties to be attended to by the householder. Some of these are the great *yajñas* (sacrifices), in the daily observance of which, the personal ego merges itself into a universal ego or the greater self of the universe. The five great sacrifices which a married couple is called upon to perform, are held to be *nityakarman* or absolute duty. The omission of these duties entails dereliction or sin, although their observance confers no tangible advantage. It means that the duties are done not by courtesy or favour but by obligation which is absolute

3 See the present writer's article, "Philosophy of the Pañca Yajñas," in the *Calcutta Review*, November, 1937, pp. 203-10.

in kind. The insistence here is on the renunciation of selfish consideration. Or, in other words, we are to realise the rights of others on any and every occasion, and in exertion of these practices, supra-personal objects of life will be given the requisite focuss to merge our identity into the greater whole. The celebrated law-giver Manu observes that these *yajñas* are necessary propaedeutic discipline to lead one to the realisation of the highest truth, Brahman.[4]

These *yajñas* are sacrifices to gods, seers, fathers, men and lower beings. In other words, everything of the cosmic existence looks up to the householder for nourishment or service, and it is the bounden duty of the latter to answer the demand. The home of a Hindu has never been a place where one enjoys property as its master, but is recognised as a means of living the fullest universal life through which is secured the supreme liberation. The obligation of life for its effective realisation must be viewed to extend over the whole sphere of beings. Although man is primarily indebted to gods—the regulator of cosmic destiny, yet secondarily and surely, to the thinkers of humanity's good, the seers to the propagators of human race—the fathers, to his fellow-beings, men and to other beings, who are perchance and for the time-being inferior to man.

It is not to be wondered that procreation, which is evidentuly a biological instinct and forms an essential characteristic of sex-union, has been clothed with religious vesture by the Śāstrakāras. It is obviously an instinctive desire to procreate, multiply and to outlive in the progeny. But with the Hindus, it is a duty assuming the nature of religious observance for the salvation of one's soul and is designed to liberate the ancestral spirits from the rigours of hell or damnation. It is not merely the policy of population that underlies the dictum. The significance is something higher and more philosophic in ideals. In order to understand it we should first remember that the family according to the Brahmanic standpoint is regarded not as a unit in space but as one indissolubly connected with the generations of the past. This notion finds its pronounced expression in the cult of *pitṛyajña* or ancestral worship. A son is bound to offer oblations to the departed spirits of his past generations. And it is very interesting to note that whenever an article of food or water is offered to the fathers, invariably though not directly, all the cosmic beings from

[4] *Manusmṛti*, II. 8.

high to low participate in it. The relations of a particular man lie scattered round him in his subsequent births. On account of the operation of the law of '*karman*' transmigrating souls from one abode to another, the circle of relations goes on broadening and broadening in respect of every birth of an individual. So ultimately the spirits of the forefathers may be presumed to be here, there and everywhere. The *tarpana* hymn "आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्य्यन्तं जगत्तृप्यतु" rightly sums up the doctrine.

Secondly, the progeny in the Hindu ethics is looked upon as a religious asset, because the rites of ancestral worship, which is undoubtedly solemn in its purpose and significance, are in turn observed by the sons. 'A father pays his debt in the birth of a son and attains immortality'—says the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. The *Dharma Śāstras* echo the same view with all their emphasis. And it is an avowed aim of the marital union to discharge this religious obligation which one owes to the ancestors. The offsprings are surely the representatives of the specific aims and ideals of the race. The spiritual ethos of the Hindu life ceases to exist if it does not flow on along the course of generations of the future. Propagative instinct is thus made subservient to the higher end where perpetuation of the line means the upkeep of the vital continuity of *Dharma* by creating the types in the progeny. These are the conscious Hindu ideals associated with the duty of procreation. Marriage does not rest upon one's aspiration to become merely the father of a family but to attain the ethos of his definite culture which he should perpetuate by the raising of the stock to a standard of the same spiritual ethos. 'Ideals alone preserve Nature.' It is therefore a splendid theory which adjusts the sexual and the procreative impulses to the acquisition of the ideals of life. And whenever one mingles his life-blood with his partner of the same class-ethos, he must do it consciously only to uphold the tradition which his children will inherit, grow up in and in turn pass on to outlive him. In this lies the consummation of the purpose of marriage, which according to the Hindu view, is predominantly a religious institution.

LENIN AND TROTSKY

KAMALESH BANERJEE

ACROSS the corridors of time will trill forth the ringing rhythm of the new gospel of humanity which has ushered into this world, in our own day, an order of society, leading to revaluation of values. If Marx and Engels were the path-finders of this new order, Lenin and Trotsky were its chief architects in the land, comprising one-fifth of the earth's inhabited surface. Those stirring times and those eventful days of the October Revolution of 1917 brought to the very foreground of world's attention the two authentic revolutionists —Lenin and Trotsky, who, inspite of their occasional disagreements and differences, sometimes acute and pronounced, had nevertheless been ardent collaborators, in an era of socialist reconstruction of society. Contemporary history of revolutionary socialism is bound up with the lives of Lenin and Trotsky and it is only in a spirit of scientific detachment and studious objectivity that a correct appraisement of the revolutionary movement, culminating in the October Revolution, is possible. Against the hurricane of interested and partisan controversies historical science must do its part and chronicle the broad facts and unvarnished truths which have come to light.

The ideological struggle between Lenin and Trotsky before 1917, despite its political character, has a significance, which superficial students of Marxism are apt to ignore. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky was an automaton of infallibility and without exaggerating the rôle of individuals in history, it is still possible to assert that if Trotsky had not accepted in 1917, the revolutionary strategy and tactics of Lenin and Lenin the prognosis of Trotsky, the revolution would have certainly met with the fate of the Paris Commune of 1870. Revolutionary realism of both prompted them to coo-perate with each other at a very crucial period in history and the unity once achieved became so very complete that death alone separated them.

It is necessary to trace in detail the fissiparous tendencies in the Russian Social Democracy which finally split the party at the London Conference in 1903. It was on the organisational question that the breach had occurred. Lenin from some time past had been advocating a strong, rigid, centralised organisation of professional revolutionaries,

which would act as the revolutionary vanguard. " The stronger our party organisations, made up of *genuine* social democrats," said Lenin, " and the less the waverings and instability within the party, the broader and more varied, the richer and more fertile will be the influence of the party on the working-class masses who environ it and whom it leads. " Lenin opined that the party is the vanguard of the working-class, which should not be confused with the whole working-class. He, further, urged the adoption of the principle of democratic centralism. " *Our task is to form a clandestine group of leaders and to set the largest possible mass in motion.* " The London Conference of 1903 sharply divided the Social Democracy into hostile camps. At one of the first meetings Trotsky, then only a young man made a very remarkable speech, supporting the editorial policy of the *Iskra* although not the general line of Lenin. The faction headed by Martov contended: " The more people there are called party members, the better it will be. We shall have reason for rejoicing if every striker and every demonstrator pleading his case can call himself a member of the party. " Trotsky argued that the dictatorship of the proletariat must not be " a case of the seizure of power by conspirators, but the political reign of the organised working-class, forming the majority of the nation. " Lenin won by a narrow majority. The Russian Social Democracy split into two—' Bolsheviki ' or the ' majoritarians ' in contrast to the ' minoritarians ', the ' Mensheviks. '

None but fools and nincompoops can doubt to-day that on the question of party organisation, Lenin was indubitably right. Without centralisation the party would have been a ramshackle organisation of opportunists and place-hunters. A revolutionary party would have been doomed to sterility and ineffectiveness without the rigorous discipline that it entails upon its members. But it should be clearly borne in mind that these differences were wholly tactical and organisational rather than ideological and fundamental. On such questions differences of opinion were certainly permissible. Even Rosa Luxemburg, to whose revolutionary passion Lenin freely testifies, severely condemned Lenin for what she treats as authoritarianism.

It is this controversy which for the first time separated Trotsky from Lenin—a controversy which continued to rage with unmitigated fury long after 1903, fought on both sides with rancour and bitterness and carried far beyond the borders of Russia. Rosa Luxemburg, with all her sturdy intellectual integrity bitterly assailed the formula of

Lenin. She declared, " Social Democracy is itself the working-class movement... .....Nothing so surely and easily puts a workers' movement in its early stages at the mercy of the intellectuals as its imprisonment in the strait-jacket of bureaucratic centralisation. " It is necessary to hark back to these days of bitter factional fight, precisely because Marxism developed in the course of such struggles and lapse of time has not destroyed their pointed appositeness to the very many vital problems of our own day. By far the most virulent condemnation of Leninist strategy was made by Trotsky about this time in his pamphlet, entitled *Our Political Tasks,* in which Lenin was described as " head of the reactionary wing of our party " and the " dull caricature of the tragic intransigence of Jacobinism. " In the Leninist scheme, Trotsky opines, *the organisation of the party takes the place of the party itself, the central committee takes the place of the organisation, and finally the dictator takes the place of the central committee.* " " Rigour of organisation," Trotsky proceeds, " as opposed to our opportunism is simply another form of political stupidity. *Under Jacobin-Bolshevik tactics, the whole international proletarian movement would be accused of moderatism before the revolutionary tribunal, and the lion head of Marx would be the first to fall under the knife of the guillotine,* " and finally he decries the Leninist conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a " *dictatorship over the proletariat.*" Plekhanov then held in highest esteem by Lenin himself expressed himself in the same strain. He was still far from being a degenerate social patriot that he was to become much later. He predicted the evolution of Leninism to the " *final end, when everything would revolve around one man who will ex-providentia, unite all power in himself.*" In these acrimonious polemics not even Lenin erred on the side of moderation, instances of which would be excerpted in another context. Trotsky's criticisms were misplaced so far as Lenin was concerned, which at the best foreshadowed coming events In his youthful exuberance and indiscretion, Trotsky neglected the most obvious precaution of guarding a revolutionary party against deviations of an opportunistic character, although be it said in fairness to Trotsky that he acknowledged his error with a candour which his dialectical mind alone could do.

It must never be forgotten for a moment that differences between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks at this period related only to organisational and tactical problems, in which Trotsky had been at one with the

former. But he differed from both on a more fundamental question. It was the theory of Permanent Revolution which separated him both from the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, all of whom agreed on the bourgeois-democratic character of the coming revolution in Russia. In 1905 Trotsky formulated his famous doctrine of Permanent Revolution. He contended that the proletariat alone could assume the leadership of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Russian bourgeois having exhausted its revolutionary rôle. But then the Russian proletariat would not be content with the overthrow of the Trar, but would be driven to expropriate the landlords and capitalists and proceed to the socialist reconstruction of society. The bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions would coincide and the struggle beginning with bourgeois-democratic would end in the establishment as of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the revolution, breaking out in any of the advanced capitalistic countries in Europe, can alone save the dictatorship in a backward country like Russia from extinction, Russian proletariat being too weak to maintain itself in power against enemies at home. A revolution for the bourgeois forms of property would be transformed into a socialist revolution, which in its turn would give a mighty impetus to a world-wide proletarian revolution. Lenin agreed with the Mensheviks that the impending revolution in Russia would lead to the establishment of the capitalist republic. He advocated a 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' for the purpose of carrying the revolution through and dissented from the Menshevik theory that the leadership of such a revolution would be provided by the bourgeosie. Such was the unsatisfactory lack of agreement amongst the parties when the revolution of 1905 broke out in Russia, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks differing on the organisational question and Trotsky on theory of Permanent Revolution, incurring the hostility of both.

The 1905 Revolution brought both Lenin and Trotsky to Russia. Trotsky became President of the Petersburg Soviet. Lenin arrived too late to influence decisively the course of events. The Bolshevik party in his absence bungled by pursuing a vicious and fumbling strategy, which drew upon it the severest censure of Lenin. The party succeeded in isolating itself completely from the Soviet and Lenin's arrival alone led it to join the mass organisations. Trotsky and Lenin collaborated in the Soviet. But the Revolution miscarried. It was drowned in blood.

Trotsky and Lenin parted again. Lenin still refused to subscribe to his theory of permanent revolution, though it acquired a notable adherent in Rosa Luxemburg. Trotsky still outside the ranks of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was striving for unity between the two. He persevered in his mistakes in refusing to see eye to eye with Lenin in the matter of party organisation. His last attempt at rapprochement met with dismal failure in 1912, which served very much to embitter the relations of them both. Lenin condemned Trotsky in this regard in rabid and lurid phrases. " People like Trotsky," Lenin said, " with their resounding phrases about Russian social democracy are the plague of our time. Trotsky to-day plagiarises the ideology of one faction, to-morrow of another and then declares himself above all the factions. It is impossible to discuss principles with Trotsky, for he has no definite conceptions. Not all is gold that glitters. Trotsky's phrases are full of glitter and noise but they lack content." Trotsky had been no less drastic He denounced Lenin as the " professional exploiter of all the backward elements in the Russian workers ' movement and declared that Lenin's idea is ' incompatible with the organisation of workers into a political party but flourishes on the dung-heap of sectionalism ' and that ' the whole edifice of Leninism to-day is founded on lies and falsifications and carries within itself the poison germ of its own decomposition.'

But the outbreak of the world-war of 1914 swiftly changed the perspectives of both Lenin and Trotsky. Under the pressure of mighty events disagreements and differences between the two thinking minds quickly melted into the thin air. Not long after Lenin abandoned the formula of Democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. In his *Letters From Afar*, Lenin declares in 1917: " We need revolutionary power, we need the state. We need the state but not the kind needed by the bourgeosie, with organs of power in the farm of police, army, bureaucracy, distinct from and opposed to the people. All bourgeois revolutions have merely perfected this Government apparatus, have merely transferred it from one party to another." In these crisp and pointed words Lenin as a revolutionary, as a realist, recognises the validity of the theory of permanent revolution, when the Bolshevik party as a whole was thinking in terms of bourgeois-democratic revolution, in terms of sharing the power with the bourgeosie. His hopes and expectations exceeded his fondest dreams. His prognosis had been wrong,

but tactics correct beyond dispute. He changed fast with the times. He would no longer conform to a formula the moment it proved out of date. He was glad that the socialist revolution was on the order of the day.

Lenin was last of all a doctrinaire. He had been an accomplished social scientist. He realised with Marx and Engels that communism was ' not a dogma but a guide to action.' Or to borrow the aphorism of Geothe, which Lenin frequently quoted in regard to these controversies: " Theory is grey, my friend ; green is the immortal tree of life." Only a month before he adhered wholly to the formula of democratic-dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, having bourgeois democratic revolution as its objective. On March 20 Lenin writes : " *Our revolution is a bourgeois revolution,* say we Marxists, therefore the workers must open the eyes of the people to the deceptive practices of the bourgeois politicians, must teach the people not to believe in words, but to depend wholly on their own strength, on their own organisation, on their own unity and on their own arms." Lenin still stood on the observations he made in 1914: " *We desire at all costs a Great Russia proud, republican, democratic, independent and free, which in her relations with her neighbours, will apply the human principle of equality, not the feudal principle of privilege.*" But remarkable had been his bold and courageous strategical and theoretical change. He had revolutionary vision and perspicacity. He was drawing himself closer and closer to Trotsky, who as an exile in America continued to propagate hie theory of permanent revolution, which alone he held could enabls Russia to skip over the intermediate stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Lenin arrived in Russia through Germany in ' the sealed train.' He submitted his " April Theses " to the party, urging the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Bolsheviks were flabbergasted. They believed inertly and clung tenaciously to the old formula. In Lenin's absence they were lending support to the provisional government of Kerensky. They opposed ' April Theses ' tooth and nail, and advocated co-operation and unity with the Mensheviks for the purpose of fulfilling the bourgeois tasks of the February Revolution. Stalin suggested a common line of agreement with the Mensheviks. He was firmly of opinion that differences existing between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were not

insuperable. He lent the entire weight of his support to the Menshevik revolution in favour of unity between two groups. Stalin declared: " We ought to accept it. It is indispensable to settle the line of agreement. Unity is possible on the Zimmerwald-Kienthal principles." To the objections of Molotov, he replied, " We have neither to anticipate nor to prevent differences. Without differences there is no life in the party. Within the party we shall overcome our minor disagreements." Lenin had felt that the hour had come to carry the revolution further and set up a republic of Soviet after the overthrow of capitalism. Zinovier and Kamenev strongly dissented from the Leninist line and Stalin, even long before the party conference *upheld the necessity of a democratic republic for all the inhabitants of Russia.* "April Theses" were carried through the party in the teeth of the most violent opposition of the Bolshevik leaders and the road to October Revolution was chalked out.

It might sound incredible to-day that the majority of the ' Old Bolsheviks ' were wholly opposed to the idea of an insurrection in October, to the establishment of a socialist regime, to the very order of society with which to-day they are linked. Lenin's break with the party at one time had been feared. His whole being rebelled against the idea of co-operating with the provisional Government of Kerensky. He made it abundantly clear at the party conference: " *Even our own Bolsheviks show confidence in the Government.....It is the death of socialism. You, comrades, have faith in the Government. In that case our ways must part. I would rather be in the minority.* " The Bolsheviks had become rigid. Lenin gave them a lesson in applied Marxism. Revolutionary socialism would have wandered in the wilderness, if 'April Theses ' were not there to correct the radical errors of the ' Old Bolsheviks. Without mental reservation Lenin assailed " *these ' Old Bolsheviks, ' who more than once have played a sorry part in the History of our party, stupidly repeating a formula learned by heart, instead of studying the peculiarities of a new living reality.* "

It is permissible to think that differences which centred round ' April Theses ' were fundamental and ideological. As the success of the October Revolution proved, the opponents of the Theses ill-served the cause of socialism. Long after the proletarian insurrection, but not before swelling the opposition to the revolutionary programme, envisaged by Lenin, Stalin admitted his error. In his pamphlet,

On the Road to October Stalin writes: "It required Lenin's celebrated *April Theses* to enable the party to more forward energetically on a new path. *This mistaken opposition, I held with the majority of the party.*

It should be scrupulously borne in mind that *April Theses* recognised in effect the validity of the Trotskyist Theory of permanent revolution. The bourgeois democratic revolution was to be converted into a socialist revolution and the era of socialist reconstruction of society was to begin. Trotsky, on his return to Russia in April, 1917, was admitted into the central committee of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin, inspite of his bitter polemics, retained an unqualified admiration for his adversary. He was to declare on one occasion, in reply to a faint objection to Trotsky's delegation to the constituent Assembly: "No one would think of disputing a candidature such as that of L. D. Trotsky." If events had proved the acuteness of the theory of permanent revolution they also demonstrated to a nicety the correctness of the Leninist tactic of party organisation. Trotsky henceforth was to be a democratic centralist, an uncompromising enemy of opportunism, an intransigent foe of reconciliation to and unity with various other opportunist socialist parties. He realised at last that such unity was impossible. Lenin was to declare sometime after: "Trotsky ha been saying for a long time that unity is impossible. Trotsky grasped the fact, and, since then, there has been no better Bolshevik."

The name of Trotsky was henceforward associated with that of Lenin in the press and the platform, both in and outside Russia. They personified to the world the nascent mass movement which culminated in the October Revolution. The phrase "Lenin and Trotsky" survived for many years in the memory of the masses and was enshrined in the pages of history. At the later stage of the revolution people even wrote "Lenin—Trotsky." A period of patient and earnest collaboration between the two had ensued. It outlived the revolution, the stress and strain of civil war and detractors of Trotsky could only hark back to the polemics of the pre-revolutionary period, which already received a decent burial. Revolutionary purpose and endeavour united them indissolubly and it is a travesty of fact and truth to declare that he was again Lenin's adversary. The testimony of Raskolnikov, an old-guard Bolshevik, should dispose of the legend and myth assiduously built up after Lenin's death. Controversies of 1903 are unearthed to-day and divorced from their legitimate context

in order to prove the eternal perfidy and disloyalty of Trotsky to Lenin and Revolution. Differences between Lenin and Trotsky were differences which have always existed between thinking minds. But after their reconciliation, these never again clouded their relations. the understanding was complete on the eve of the revolution and after " In the way Trotsky spoke of Lenin, " says Raskolnikov, " the attachment of the disciple is visible. At that time Lenin had behind him thirty years of militant work in the service of the proletariat, and Trotsky twenty. All trace of the differences of the pre-war period had disappeared. There was no difference between the tactics of Lenin and Trotsky. This rapprochement, signs of which appeaerd during the war, had become clearly defined from the moment of Leon Trotsky's arrival in Russia. Immediately after his first speeches, we, Old Bolsheviks, Leninists, felt that he was one of us." History of Bolshevism is re-written to-day in serene disregard of the unimpeachable documents of the period. If we have adverted to them copiously, it is because they do not appear in the official history.

In the struggle for power that Soviet Russia witnessed after the demise of Lenin, a mass of apocryphal literature has grown up, with the avowed object of minimising the rôle of Trotsky in the Russian Revolution. It is a common knowledge that Trotsky, when Lenin was in hiding, had organised the October insurrection, as President of the Military Revolutionary Committee and of the Petersburg Soviet. But some time after the death of Lenin, Stalin dazed the world by his astounding statement, " Comrade Trotsky played no particular rôle either in the party or the October insurrection, and could not do so, being a man comparatively new to our party in the October period." Unfortunately Stalin forgot what he himself wrote in *Pravda* in November, 1918. " All the work of practical organisation of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrogard Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to declare with certainty that swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet, and the bold execution of the work of Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and above all to Comrade Trotsky." It is well-nigh impossible to reconcile the two statements of Stalin, except on the assumption that he would hardly deny in November, 1918, a patent fact of a year before which he was able to do with impunity in 1928 after the death of Lenin. Bukharin, for many years an ally of Stalin, strangely confirms the latter's 1918 testimony.

He writes enthusiastically on the very day after the Revolution. " Trotsky, splendid and courageous tribune of the rising, indefatigable and ardent apostle of the revolution, declared in the name of the Military Revolutionary Committee at the Petrograd Soviet, with thunders of applause from those present, that the Provisional Government no longer existed. And as living proof of this fact there appeared in the tribune Lenin, whom the new revolution had liberated from the mystery which surrounded him."

The unanimity of opinion between Lenin and Trotsky at this epoch of revolutionary upsurge stands in striking contrast to their previous disagreements. This solidarity clearly manifested itself in the preparation for the insurrection of October, in the creation of a new governmental machinery, in the building up of the invincible Red Army, in the four congresses of the Third International, in the theoretical work of the party, in the work of the leadership of the communist parties at home and abroad. Their divergence of opinions related only to Brest-Litovsk Peace and Trade Union question Negotiations at Brest showed Trotsky's glittering intellectual gifts at their best. In a queer conclave of old-world diplomats and revolutionary plenipotentiary, two irreconcilable forces struggled for mastery. " The thing that surprises and repels the Government of other countries, " Trotsky said, " is that we do not arrest strikers, but capitalists who subject workers to lockouts, that we do not shoot peasants who demand land, but arrest the land-owners and officers who try to shoot the peasants." Nothing was expected of such a conference. Lenin and Trotsky were only counting upon a proletarian revolution in Germany and to delay the signing of peace. But the anticipated uprising failed to materialise and Russians were forced to accept an ignominious treaty, which goes beyond the treaty of Versailles in severity. It was on the question of signing such a dishonourable peace that Trotsky differed from Lenin. But this disagreement left no trace of personal bitterness and soon after, Trotsky was placed at the head of the military affairs. On the much-disputed trade-union question also differences adjusted themselves.

Trotsky's military policy in the civil war won the complete approval of Lenin. The new regime was in imminent peril. The conscripted slaves of finance-capital attacked Russia from all points of the compass. The Red Army had to fight the war in eighteen different fronts. The task had been colossal. Against Trotsky's war operations, criticisms

of Stalin and Voroshilov became insistent. Lenin endorsed every decision of Trotsky in this regard. He authorised Trotsky to forge ahead inspite of the adverse comment made on the conduct of the war. He went so far as to hand over to Trotsky, a blank sheet of paper, with the following lines written at the bottom: "Knowing the harsh character of Comrade Trotsky's orders, I am so convinced, so absolutely convinced, of the rightness, expediency, and necessity for the good of our cause, of the orders he has given that I give them my full support." It constitutes the most eloquent tribute to Trotsky's conduct of the war and the defeat of the Lordes of Denkin and Kolchak shows that the confidence was not misplaced. As organiser of victories, as an outstanding military genius, Trotsky's reputation stands on unassailable grounds.

Driven by cruel necessities following the Civil War, when the economic situation drifted from bad to worse Lenin made a strategic retreat on the economic front. Discontent was rife in the country. Workers and soldiers were unable to put up with the famine rations of the epoch of war-communism. The Krontadt rebellion offered a timely warning. The result was the inauguration of the N. E. P., the restoration of limited and controlled capitalism. "If we had not transformed our economic policy," Lenin said, "we should not have lasted many months longer." As early as 1920, Trotsky placed before the Politburo a series of measures closely similar to the N.E.P. In fact transition to the New Economic Policy was carried out in complete harmony and concord. But Trotsky combatted the disruptive and disintegrating tendencies of the N. E. P., which were discernible after Lenin's death. The growth of the Kulak, the Nepsman, the bureaucrat spelt danger to the socialist regime. It was necessary to adopt a proper and rigid class policy in regard to them. They neither required crushing, nor were crushed. Any other policy was bound to lead to the subversion of the state apparatus. Neither forcible collectivisation, nor the Kulak's 'painlessly growing into socialism' was the salutary policy to pursue. Lenin, who was head and shoulders above the rest, could alone struggle with some measure of success against the forces of reaction which set in.

In November, 1924, Lenin made his last speech before the Moscow Soviet. He was too painfully aware of the increasing bureaucratisation of the party 'machine.' On December 25 he wrote a cofidential letter for the next party congress, which, he feared,

he would be unable to attend. It was the testament of Lenin to his party. Every word of that remarkable document is carefully weighed and showed the unmistakable trend of the coming conflict within the party. The split in the party he had sensed quickly. We saw the danger-spot with clear vision. "*Comrade Stalin*" Lenin writes "*having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution.* On the other hand Comrade Trotsky is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities—personally, he is to be sure, the most able man in the central committee—but also by his too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs." Lenin expressed himself with greater candour a little later. The first flush of power made the bureaucracy dizzy. The dictatorship of the Secretariat rather than that of the proletariat made itself felt in every sphere. If he were spared he would have overhauled the entire apparatus of the party. The despotism of the General Secretary cut him to the quick. He would change the personnel if that would remedy the situation. "*Stalin is too rude,*" writes Lenin, "*and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us communists, becomes unsupportable in the Office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc.*" Lenin in one of his last confidential letters describes the Russian State machine as "*borrowed from Tsarism and barely touched by the Soviet World,*" as a 'bourgeois-Tsarist mechanism." He felt that under such depressing circumstances the constitution would be a "scrap of paper, impotent to defend the races of Russia against these true Russians, Chauvinist Great Russians essentially cowardly and cruel, like the typical Russian bureaucrat." Lenin considered the policy of Stalin in the Caucasus to be much too oppressive, overbearing, vindictive. "*In this matter Stalin's hastiness and bureaucratic enthusiasm and his spite,*" Lenin condemns in unmeasured terms.

Lenin died, crushed with the conviction that his programme of socialist construction of society with the aid of the world-revolutionary upsurge was destined to be whittled down. Trotsky was relegated to the corner. For many years he was destined to plough a lonely

furrow. The large-scale defeat of the world-proletariat which he struggled hard to prevent weighed him down. He was traduced, misunderstood, handcuffed by ignorance and jealousy till he found himself in a ' plane without a visa.' A campaign of calumny, a series of judicial frame-ups, proscription and purge of his best comrades-in-arms gradually undermined his position. The Shavian dictum that one of the first jobs of a successful revolution was to get rid of the revolutionists had been rigorously applied. The torch of socialism flickered in a dimmer light when the co-adjutors of Lenin received his mortal blow from political assassins. The victory of the Fourth International is writ large in the bankruptcy of his political adversaries, which is completed by the abominable outrage. The revolting tragedy would proclaim from the sky-scrapers the theoretical and practical control of the forces of the world-revolution that still had been his. Trotsky was a misfit in an age of Bonapartism when " grotesque mediocrities " as Marx said of the epoch of Napoleon III, " strut in in heroes' garb."

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA

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V

WASTAGE AND ITS REMEDY

THE Provincial Reports and Reviews on Education reveal a huge diminution of scholars from class to class in the Primary stage, at least. The position has a little improved since what it was during the beginning of the Reforms. The causes which contributed to the improvement in the position will have to be explored and those methods which have contributed to this improvement should be more rigidly applied to gain, not only the maintenance of the standard which has been achieved, but also to the attainment of still better results. The Hartog Committee which was an auxiliary to the Simon Commission on Indian Constitution, drew the attention of the authorities, in the year 1929, to this glaring 'wastage' of Money and Energy for wholly unproductive results. In spite of the fact that the department used to be administered by a representative popular Minister—and was, therefore, under favourable auspices—it continued without any signs of aggravation. The Reports of the Provinces published subsequent to that, also repeated the same story year after year.

A typical example illustrative of this huge 'wastage' is given here:—

Boys and Girls in the Primary Schools and the Primary Classes of Secondary Schools

1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
39,84,924	13,99,986	9,84,358	7,10,895	4,27,053

1933-34	1934-1935	1935-36	1936-1937
Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
Boys—38,63,319	17,36,781	13,61,521	10,70,360
Girls—15,08,453	4,86,509	3,34,639	2,15,400

From the first set it will appear that about one-third of the total number of boys and girls admitted in Class I, were actually reading in Class II, and then, by degrees, the number dwindled to about one-tenth in Class V. For every 100 boys and girls admitted in Class I, only 10 used to be found in Class V. The diminution in Class II compared with the enrolment in Class I was remarkable.

From the second set of figures, it will appear that the position has improved a little. During this period, for every 100 boys admitted in Class I about 28 were to be found in Class IV. This may be regarded as the figure for those having attained literacy in this stage. Diminution from Class I to Class II still remains the same and stands at about 20 lacs.

The question now confronting us is, why do so many boys and girls give up their studies after learning the alphabet only? It may be due to *stagnation, i.e.*, being retained in the same class for a number of years; it may be also due to *inefficient teaching* and *inspection*; it is also possible that the management may have manipulated the enrolment. About 60% of the Primary schools in British India are managed by one teacher only, and it has been revealed that there were found schools in the remotest areas, in the interior of the country, which existed only for the purpose of receiving grants from the disbursing authorities. It is probable that such schools were prone to show a depleted enrolment than the actual figures, even if they existed at all. Serious efforts are needed to put a check to this waste of money. There may be many disadvantages to having these one-teacher schools. But they are mainly located in the interior of the country and have three classes only and the teacher has necessarily to shoulder the burden of plural class-teaching—sometimes aided by, what is unusually called, the '*monitorial*' system. In the existing circumstances and in the prevailing condition of the rural areas, such single-teacher schools are not only indispensable but are beneficial to the best interests of the country.

The quinquennial Report for the period ending 1936-37, presents a better picture and furnishes figures to show that there has been an improvement in the wastage. It reveals that 72% of the scholars admitted in Class I fail to reach Class IV. But in Bengal, about 85% of them do not present themselves in that Class. Here the wastage is higher. The wastage still continues to be heaviest in Class II although there has been slight improvement over the previous

figures. Universal Primary Education seems to be the only way to check the wastage. By the end of 1936-37, there has been a change of outlook also, in the nature of instruction, and the Curriculum in almost all the provinces has been modified to a certain extent to meet the growing needs of the country.

This heavy wastage could have been avoided and even checked had there been a rigid control on, and effective inspection of the institutions. The Inspectors had to work against heavy odds, and handicaps of the unmanageable number of schools, and the area over which they had to work in the discharge of their duties. The machinery, therefore, did not do its proper function and the uncontrolled Course of Primary Education drifted along with the wind in the heavy seas. The co-operation of the villagers, of at least the local self-governing institutions, might have been of some assistance, if they earnestly and energetically carried on their function of uplifting the villages.

The wastage could also be eliminated if the money were not spent on those schools which could not be controlled in a better manner. And, instead of spending the money on Primary Schools, which just satisfied the departmental conditions for the purpose of receiving grants-in-aid conformity to the rules for which may have been hastily examined in an anxiety to see the expansion of Primary Education in the shortest possible time, the money were spent for intensive work in a field within the easy grip of the department. That would have meant an unnecessary interference and check in, what appeared in the face of things, to be a genuine desire of the people, *i.e.*, the management, to see that the villagers are helped to receive some sort of education. Even a bad school with ineffective teaching is better than no school at all !

But, if this stage of things continue for a pretty long time, it may have an adverse effect on the minds of those villagers, who do not view this education with any respect. They have already bred an aversion to education generally, due to the fact that it tends to isolate the agriculturist from society and gives a tendency to look upon manual labour with derision. The villager, therefore, apprehends that by giving his ward some education he will be of no use to his vocation of agriculture, trade, industry, art or whatever may be his calling. If to this already existing view of isolation in his mind, the idea is ingrained that the little education, that is imparted, is wholly

ineffective, that will lead to a mix-up of the whole thing and the villager will be loathe to sending his ward to any school. Therefore, in order that the village-folk may admit the children and keep them there longer, the Curriculum should be made adaptable to their needs and they should be convinced of the utility of giving them some sort of Education. The Curriculum may include such subjects as the keeping of Farm accounts or the accounts of the various trades in which the villagers are generally engaged. There was a time, and perhaps the practice still exists, when the agriculturists had to trudge along a long distance to get the receipts read granted by the land-lords' officers for the money received by them on account of the rent for the lands, only to be convinced that they have not been cheated in this.

Anyway, as an alternative to Universal Primary Education, which would be the best remedy for eliminating the Waste, the existing schools may be grouped and controlled in a better way than following a policy of haphazard expansion. Instances have not been unknown, in which, the conditions required by the Code, for receiving departmental recognition, have been superficially fulfilled, just to elude the inspecting officers. The method which should be followed to secure improvement in the condition of the Primary schools, is to be found out by the provinces themselves. Every province, should, in the beginning, make a survey of the field in respect of the distribution of the schools. The schools then may be justly and equitably adjusted to meet the requirements of the particular areas. Unhealthy competition should be avoided between the schools in the same locality. The Central School system of the Punjab, which has been found to produce good results and which was introduced in some places in Bengal also, may be tried. The system obviates the necessity of having high-grade Primary Schools everywhere, and the feeder schools being occasionally inspected by the Central Primary School teachers, the need of constant vigilance and inspection by the department is minimised, thus ensuring a better organisation, and with a good Curriculum, the system may be expected to produce satisfactory results.

Any improvement in the condition of the Primary schools necessarily implies a vital proposition that there should be a sufficient number of satisfied, qualified and trained teachers. To attrack the rural population to take up this work, there should be an adequate number of Middle Vernacular Schools, and if Matriculates are

available so much the better. The facilities for the training of teachers for the schools in the villages, should be adequate and intensive.

If the Curriculum of the Secondary schools do not include sufficient subjects to endow the pupils with the elements of a liberal education and common knowledge, which may have to be taught to the scholars in the Primary schools, the Curriculum of the Training Schools for Teachers should provide a Course of intensive training in those subjects in addition to Pedagogy. Such subjects like Mental Arithmetic ; Elements of Hygiene and Sanitation (Rules of Health) ; a knowledge of the History and Geography of the country ; an elementary knowledge of the elements of the Sciences having direct relation with the life of the people ; elementary Civics and Citizenship etc., should be intensively taught to the would-be-teachers, so that they may be able to impart knowledge in those subjects to the scholars in the Primary schools. Training in Community work, Social Service and Village Uplift work may be included in the Curriculum also.

The Missionaries have, of late, been trying to tackle this problem by providing higher elementary schools with a distinctive Curriculum to meet the requirements of the villagers. The type of schools at Moga ; Chapra, Ushagram ; Bhimpore ; Bishnupore ; Vellore ; Manmad ; Ankleswar and Umedpore, where instruction is imparted through the project Method, may be regarded as the typical examples of Missionary efforts to make the Primary education as beneficial as is possible for the villagers. It is noteworthy in this connection that these schools have included in their Curriculum those subjects which may be expected to help the village-folk in their vocations in later life. The basic industries may be included in the course of Studies so as to prepare the individual for his later life, and to give him a training in the use of the hands, eyes and ears in a manner, which will help considerably, his power of observation and judgment.

Ignorance and false beliefs, based mostly on conservatism which have been ingrained from time immemorial and which have taken their roots by a defective training at home will have to be overcome. The approach to the problem should be from an angle different from that here-to-fore followed. The task is to teach the Masses properly through the modern methods intended to strengthen the power of observation and to broaden the interest. So that we may see a perceptible change in the rural life of India, as a whole.

The teachers of the rural schools should have the requisite training so as to be able to identify themselves with the life and work of the villagers, and for that purpose persons from the rural areas may be selected and given the training in the centres or failing to get such men, those people should be chosen, who would be willing to settle in the villages, *i.e.*, those with a liking for the rural areas. "Go back to the villages" should be the guiding principle, so to say.

About the teaching staffs of the Primary schools. In the western countries, women teachers, as a rule, are chosen for the Nursery and Primary schools and there are a large number of them, who are engaged in those schools. In that stage, the education of children is of a nature, which calls for special aptitude and qualification in a teacher. Women are the best and instinctively the most suited for grasping the peculiar problems of child-life. And so, the education of children of this stage have been more successful in the hands of women teachers. They are capable of taking infinite pains and of imparting education to them through natural affections. In those countries where women have been employed to take up the profession of teaching, they have been found to be cheaper than men. In India, however, the case is different. Here the women teachers cost more, and necessarily, the average cost of educating a girl is higher than the figures for boys, in those schools at least, where education is carried on through women teachers. Besides, although the percentage of literacy of women to total population, is about 2%—which of course, indicates considerable improvement in the figures for the preceding years and which points to the fact that a considerable number of girls of school-going age is receiving instruction in the schools, there exists a demand for a change in the system of girls' education. It is true that there has been an increase in the number of the Middle and High schools and Arts colleges in the country, but that does not indicate that more need not be done. Rather, it points to the necessity of having an increasing number of girls' schools in the country. In order that, we may have good many women teachers in the villages, it is necessary in the first place, besides having a good number of educated women, that the age-long prejudice and the customs have to be overcome so as to induce them to take up the profession. In the urban areas, they present very little difficulties compared to what is generally appreciable in the countryside. Girls' education in our country, should now proceed along a different route

and should move on in a different direction with a different Curriculum to expand to much greater proportions than what it is at present.

Machineries have to be looked after in the course of their working so as to keep them in perfect working order. For that purpose, not only fuel is required to be applied to them occasionally but they have to be properly maintained and every part of them has to be periodically examined. A railway line has to be constantly watched by the Permanent Way Inspector, so that it may be in tip-top condition and may safely pass the trains without in any way endangering the life and property which are carried by them at great speed. Similar is the case with any machinery, mill or workshop. Every part of the machine has to be looked after and periodically inspected to ensure their proper working. So, in addition to a sufficient number of trained and efficient workers (teachers) who may be entrusted with the teaching proper in the Primary schools, there should be a good number of Inspoctors, if the system has not to degenerate into inefficiency. It may be argued that the expenses on the Inspectorate, is superfluous and the amount spent on this account, may be profitably employed in the furtherance of Primary Education and in the improvement of teaching in the schools.

There are about 2000 Inspectors and Inspectresses of all grades in the Educational Department of the provinces of India. A little over 100 of them are engaged in the supervision of Secondary Education and in the general administration of the Department. The rest of the Inspectorate do the major part of the work of supervising the lower Secondary and the Primary schools and in the inspection of the institutions. The inadequacy of this staff has been referred to already and is being re-iterated simply for the sake of emphasising the importance of having more of these officers for the inspection of the Primary schools. The average number of Primary schools which an Inspector has to deal with and the area he has to cover for the purpose of inspecting them is widely different for the different provinces but it is a fact that these officers have to do more work than what they may be reasonably expected to perform. The result is that their duties mainly centre round the routine work and they can hardly check the enrolment or even of the existence of the schools in the interior and the inaccessible parts of the country. Something more than the administrative machinery is required. The

Inspectors should be a part and parcel of the system of Primary Education in our country and they should be in a position to offer suggestion in the improvement of teaching and in the condition of the schools and they may help where help is necessary.

If the poverty of the qualifications and equipment of the teachers is taken into account—of course in other than the urban Primary schools—the urgency of having the schools inspected by willing and helpful officers will be appreciated and the necessity of getting the system periodically examined by people who may be in a position, by their experience of teaching and of their knowledge of the work which is being carried in the other parts of the world, to offer direct help and to report on the necessity of making changes in the existing state of things. The control of these officers need not be divided between the department and the district councils, simply to create an anomaly in the organisation. They may be entirely controlled by the district councils who are directly responsible for the expansion and improvement of Mass Education. Better results will accrue out of such co-ordination of efforts. The question of the Inspectorate may be partly solved by adopting the Central School system of the Punjab. If that system cannot be adopted for obvious reasons, then the Inspectorate has either to be strengthened or the schools should be equitably distributed in the districts so as to place the Inspectors in a position to inspect the Primary schools.

In almost every province of India, Malarial fevers are prevalent during the rainy season, and it is also a fact that during the monsoon, specially in those parts like Bengal and Assam, where it is heavy, some places in the interior become inaccessible and one has to plod through mud and water of the dead and dying rivers to go from one place to another. The trouble which the young learners has to experience to go to schools is inexplicable. They become liable to suffer from ill-health as a result of the exposure and the soaking of the rains. Various means have been suggested to get over this natural calamity. In the Punjab, the schools are usually closed during the rainy season but are kept open during the summer. In places like Bengal, Bihar and Assam, the same procedure may be followed, and instead of having their long summer and Puja vacations, as in the other provinces of India they may have the rainy vacation with a short recess during the Puja or the Diwali. This procedure will serve the purpose of giving the pupils some rest which they require and will

also obviate the other problem of the troublesome rains. That will indeed be a wholesome change.

The overwhelming number of inefficient Primary schools for boys and for girls may be made effective in other ways. If the time table of the schools are so arranged that the classes for the boys may be held during the mornings and the afternoons, and the girls', sections are held in the interval between the two sessions *i.e.*, during mid-day then the question of having separate buildings, and possibly the staff, for the two departments may be solved to a certain extent. Instances have been known in which the staff and the building of a boys' school are utilised for the girls' sections and some of the staffs are even known to work in the evening college and school classes. An increased amount paid to the teacher, will be a welcome contribution to his earning and will tend to make him a contented worker, with some interest in his profession. Along with this, the question of co-education of boys and girls in the Primary stage, at least, may be given due consideration.

In the U. S. A., the educational units are free from outside control in respect of their internal administration and management. In Japan, the Inspectors are regarded as the clearing house of New Ideas and as practical guides to the application of the modern methods of teaching. There they are not looked upon as people out to exercise the right of the red-tap and to multiply difficulties in the way of the administration. It is the intensive and not the extensive development in the field of education, which will in the long run, secure advancement of education of India.

The Central Advisory Board has been revived and the Bureau of Education has been put into operation. The Review on the growth of education is some part of the functions of the Central Government. The propagation of useful information on the activities of the provincial Governments in the different spheres of Educational advancement and of the outside world, in this respect, should be regarded as the most useful of the duties of the Central Government. The Mont-Ford Reforms tended to take away from the Central Government their interest in educational matters. It was unfortunate. The Government of India should not divest themselves of the responsibilities of initiating the Policy and of finding the requisite Finances.

Without committing themselves in anyway for the financial responsibility in putting the Basic System of Education into effect, the

provisions of which have been minutely examined by a sub-committee in the course of the last two years, the Central Board of Education has at last finally approved the Scheme. The major objections of making no provision for religious education which tended to give it a secular outlook and of giving undue importance to the self-supporting nature of the basic crafts through which education was sought to be imparted have been compromised. The Scheme no where laid down that religion should be neglected, neither is there any reference to the effect that such religious training might be given in the school outside school hours. The school adopting the scheme was free to frame its own routine including religious training of the communities. The fact that the basic crafts to which most of the subjects could be co-related and the products of which may be used to render them self-supporting, does not, it is contended, imply that vocational education was the goal. What is implied in this, is that by this scheme a *new Orientation* is desired in the outlook on education and its value lay in emphasising the necessity of education through manual activities freed from the domination of books and the fetish of examinations, the only goal of the present outlook on education which is as at present, neither responsive to the realistic elements of the present situation nor is it inspired by the life-giving or the creative ideal.

The adoption of the Wardha Scheme by the provinces when funds permitted, would necessarily imply the introduction of Compulsory Universal Primary Education in the country. A new problem is sure to crop up when that stage is reached *i.e.*, of the provision for the education of children before the Basic system starts at the age of six or seven. Nursery or Infant schools would be the only places where *pre-basic* education may be imparted, so as to make the children suitable for receiving the benefits of the Basic System of Education. The Nursery and the Infant schools can be satisfactorily conducted by women teachers only. Apart from the prevalent social objections of allowing the women to take up teaching as a profession, in the rural areas, the fact that hardly 2% of our total female population are under instruction in the country, also reminds us of the urgency of making wide-scale provision for the education of the girls. Of those girls under instruction, the majority is in the Primary stage and very little of them receive any sort of higher education. Not only that many more girls will have to be educated, but that they should at the same time, be given the proper training to shoulder

the responsibility of taking charge of the Nursery and the Infant schools.

The necessity of having a Curriculum for women which will tend to make them good housewifes and mothers has been repeatedly advocated everywhere by educationists. The social ideal and needs of Indian women are not similar to those of the Western countries. A Curriculum which will include the subjects like: Domestic Science including Cookery, Laundry, Housewifery Needle-work, Elementary Physiology, Medicine, etc., Dietetics, Hygiene, First-aid, Home-nursing, Mothercraft, Eugenics, Gardenning, Civics and Child-psychology besides Music and Dancing and which should be adopted to the Indian conditions, will bear far more beneficial results than the purely literary or even what has been given to our boys for a long time. The Lady Irwin Girls' College at Delhi is doing something in this direction and Colleges of that type with a Curriculum having a definitely Indian outlook should be multiplied in our country to send out as many girls as were possible not only for the good of the household but also for the good of the Nation, to take up the positions in the training schools for the teachers of the Primary schools for girls and for the Nursery schools and the Infant classes. It is time that we thought of this aspect of the question of Wastage-cum-Primary Education a bit seriously and made united efforts to bring about that fundamental change in our system of education.

Provision should also be made for transferring the pupils from the Basic schools to the Secondary stage at different grades making their courses of instruction in conformity with the Basic System of Education. That is how the Wardha Scheme of Education pre-supposes new Orientation in our Educational system. The Vernaculars will have to be made the medium of instruction and parallel courses of instruction will have to be provided for the education of the girls. Without making suitable provision for these changes in the different stages of our educational system, it will be of no use introducing the Wardha Scheme of Education or (Compulsory) Universal Primary Education.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad]

Theoretical Military Training in Bihar

That the Provincial Government have under consideration a scheme for imparting physical training in schools with a theoretical course in military history and science in place of the previous Ministry's scheme for military training school was revealed to pressmen by Mr. Cousins at a Conference. The scheme proposes the formation of cadet corps in secondary schools to serve as a feeder to the University Training Corps which could be expanded and strengthened by addition of more platoons.

A full-fledged millitary school, he added, could not, however, be undertaken by the Provincial Government, as it did not enjoy adequate powers in this regard. The proposed scheme is expected to be announced in a month's time.

Lucknow University

All round expansion in the work of Lucknow University was reported by the Vice-Chancellor of the University when he addressed the University Court.

The Faculty of Medicine was a special feature of the University which, he said, brought the University into direct contact with the masses. An increase in the number of women students, establishment of a diploma in radiology, a section of orthopaedic surgery and one of pharmacology, introduction of LL.M. classes, experimental psychology and M.Com. degrees were other features of the administration during the year.

New researches on neurosis (black tip diseases in mangoes) and helminthic diseases had been entrusted to the University by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

The Court at the outset passed a resolution of condolence at the untimely demise of Sir Shah Sulaiman and paid glowing tributes to his memory.

Gift to College

Mr. Shanti Nayak of Dalsingsarai having contributed Rs. 25,000 to the funds of the Mithila College, Darbhanga, the Governing Body of the college has resolved that the institution be named Shanti Nayak Mithila College.

Students to Help in Rural Work

Utilizing their holidays in nation-building work, University students will play a great part in the rural and economic reconstruction of the country if the resolution adopted by the Inter-University Board is given effect to by Indian Universities.

The Board, at its last annual meeting, considered it desirable to undertake an economic investigation of rural and urban areas with the help of University students, particularly during holidays.

Rs. 70,000 Offered for Assam University

Mr. Sashiprasad Baruah who has offered a donation of Rs. 70,000 towards the establishment of a university in Assam, is reported to have informed the authorities that he would withdraw his offer if they decided to locate the university either at Shillong or at Sylhet. In that case Mr. Baruah proposes to take up the work of founding a private University with more money donated by himself and other members of his family and to locate it at Gauhati.

Society of Agricultural Economics

The second conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics was held at Lahore from April 12 to April 14 under the chairmanship of Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharaya.

Bengal Board of Economic Inquiry

The Board of Economic Inquiry set up by the Government of Bengal is now preparing the outlines of a scheme for an inquiry into the question of average yield and cost of cultivation of the principal crops in the province.

It is proposed to carry out, in the first instance, an exploratory survey to devise a suitable procedure for collecting reliable data about the various factors which contribute to the yield and govern the cost of cultivation.

The survey is estimsted to cost about Rs. 10,000 and will take about 15 months to complete. Areas for the survey have been selected. Statistical design and methods of the inquiry are also being drawn up under the guidance of Professor P. C. Mahalanobis. The actual field work will be started soon with the commencement of cultivation for the *bhadoi* crops.

The Board also proposes to institute inquiries into the extent of the scarcity of drinking and irrigation water in different parts of the province ; the possibilities of developing barren and untilled lands situated mostly in West Bengal districts ; the possibilities of developing the horticultural wealth of the province ; and the present cattle wealth of Bengal, the extent of its use and waste, and the possibilities of its economic development.

Inter-University Board Meeting

The question whether students who specialize in vocational subjects in the High Schools may pursue higher course in those subjects in the University up to the degree standard, is at present engaging the attention of the Indian Universities.

The Inter-University Board discussed the matter at its last annual meeting and expressed the opinion that the right method consisted in the provision of diversified courses at the high school stage with provision for similar courses of a progressively higher grade at the inter and succeeding stages, leading to diplomas or degrees, so that it might be possible for pupils taking vocational courses at the high school stage to go up to the Universities and qualify themselves for diplomas and degrees in their own lines. The board further held that it ought to be possible for the Universities to have entrance tests suitable for such courses of study, instead of a single entrance examination for all candidates, irrespective of the courses to be taken.

Miscellany

IDEOLOGICAL IMPERIALISM

Militaristic-political domination is but one kind of empire-building and imperialism. Social science has to envisage another kind of imperialism or domination. There one set of ideas is influenced, modified or conquered by another set, one system of morality is compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty or sovereignty of another system. The authority of another set of ideas, ideals and institutions replaces that of a traditional set. The arts and sciences, philosophies, religions, *mores*, manners and customs, and gods and goddesses of one people are replaced by those of another people. This domination or imperialism is ideological. It is essentially impersonal, having hardly anything to do with any individual of flesh and blood.

Man is a brute by all means and tries to influence or conquer others physically and militarily. But it is also true that man is something of a non-brute, *i.e.*, man has tried to listen to reason and to accept reason. It is very interesting to note that throughout the periods of militaristic-political domination the domination of the other type, the ideological domination, ideological imperialism also has been going on, almost synchronous with the other imperialism. Very often the militaristic-political empire has had nothing to do with the ideological empire. Once in a while, the ideological empires have been established, influenced or promoted by military-political empires. But, as a rule, the two imperialisms have gone on independently of each other.

Let us take Islam or Christianity, which is older than Islam. As a system of ideas and ideals Christianity has conquered and dominated the world by influencing, modifying, moderating and subjugating the local rites, ceremonies, institutions, moral ideas, and gods and goddesses. Christianity as a system of conversions is one of the greatest ideological imperialisms the world has known. In social science it is the custom to use the term *acculturation* for this conversion. When one country or people is adopting the religion, customs and manners of another, the first is being acculturated to the second. Christianization is an instance of world-domination by an adopted religion. It is imperialism on the ideological plane. The Christian empire is not confined to any particular continent. It has succeeded in encompassing the entire world with more or less doses of success. The Islamization of mankind has been relatively less effective or universal.

There are other ideological imperialisms. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is possible to say, democracy has established an empire among all mankind. The French revolution, the ideas of 1789, started the world on this path. Today there is hardly anybody anywhere on earth that is not subject to the ideals of democracy, whatever that may mean. The undeniable fact is that democratic ideology is one of the most inspiring forces and vital urges among all races. The domination of the human spirit by democratic idealism is a remarkable imperialism of modern times.

Similarly one of the greatest world-empires is being enjoyed by science. Is there any human being today, in East or West—anywhere in the world —who is not subject to the rule of science, to the sovereignty or empire of science? A fourth ideological empire is that of technocracy and industrialism and, along with them, capitalism. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century capitalism has been enjoying an empire among all peoples. This is an impersonal empire like Christianity or Islam, democracy and science.

Exactly antithetic to capitalism is Marxism, the doctrine associated with the name of Marx. Marxism or socialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been enjoying a world-empire. Its domination has touched even Asia including India. It is impossible for anybody to deny that socialism is directly or indirectly influencing the thoughts and activities of individuals here and there and everywhere. Socialism, therefore, is as great an ideological imperialism as Christianity or Islam, democracy, science and capitalism.

So far we have mentioned the ideological imperialisms which are mainly non-Indian in origin. Does India afford illustrations of this second kind of imperialism? She does. India also has given rise to ideas, ideals, *vidyas* and *kalas*, arts and sciences, manners and customs, philosophies, politics, moralities, religions, gods and goddesses, and sacred texts such as have conquered the world. Ideological imperialism is one of the greatest contributions of India to world culture. India as a maker of chapters in world history is thus to be placed in two different fields, first, as a contributor to militaristic-political domination, secondly, as a contributor to ideological imperialism. Empire-building of two different kinds is to be credited to the culture or creativity of the Indian people.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

HINDUISM AS WORLD-IMPERIALISM

Let us try to understand Hinduism. In the first place, Hinduism is a cult or a religion. It has its gods and goddesses, rituals and ceremonies. In the second place, Hinduism is a system of culture, institutions, social philosophies. It is a system of arts and sciences, manners, beliefs and customs. Now, who established Hinduism? It was established by some people, perhaps somewhere in the Punjab or on the banks of the Ganges, the Kabul, the Ravi or the Bias. The creative persons were perhaps a little colony of half a dozen or several dozen people. We call them *Rishis*. What they called themselves we do not know. But they were creators, epoch-makers. These *Rishis* established what later became Hinduism. In the beginning their creation or culture was nothing more than the burning of wood. It was fire applied to a few pieces of wood in which *ghee* was to be burnt. Considered objectively, *yajna*, *homa* or sacrifice is the pragmatic form of Hinduism as a religion. The *Rishis* who invented it were not thin, emaciated people, but strong men, sturdy gymnasts, intellectual gymnasts and moral gymnasts, who along with the fire propagated a powerful cult. It is not some meaningless hocuspocus that they started. They started a tremendous social dynamics. Their motto was "*charaiveti*"—march on, march on, march on. That aggressiveness, that desire to go on conquering and to conquer is the kern of Hinduism

as a religion. "We have lit this little fire," they said, "but it is not to remain confined to this little colony, to this our village. It has to be spread farther and farther. There is that river, the cult has to spread to it, that river over there has to be crossed. And from village to village, from forest to forest, and from river to river, and on and on it has to march, conquer, missionize until the whole world comes under its domination."

The *Rishis* taught Young India to say, "*Ahamasmi sahamana*, etc.," which means, "Mighty am I, superior by name upon the earth, conquering am I, all-conquering, completely conquering every region." This is the inspiration of Hinduism, the cult of *charaiveti* (march on), the culture of *digvijaya* (world-conquest), the philosophy of world-conversion.

This is not the mere enthusiasm of half a dozen nervous, rickety, malaria-stricken people, but the declaration of faith of those who actually marched on from one river to another and crossed one hill-top after another. The whole of India has come under their domination. Finally an ideological empire has been established by what, in our ignorance or absence of a better term, we describe as Hinduism. Hinduism is a world-conquering cult or culture, determined to organize missions in order to civilize or dominate the world. Hinduization is acculturation of diverse races, peoples and regions to Hindu norms and *mores*. We said that Christianity (or Islam), democracy, science, capitalism and socialism are ideological imperialisms or impersonal dominations and that these five "isms" or systems enjoy a world-position. Students of social science will have to objectively recognize Hinduism, understood whether as a system of culture or of cult, as another specimen of ideological world-imperialism.

We are using the term "world-empire" in connection with Hinduism as a religion and as a culture. This is not a hyperbole. In the first place, our conception of the world is to be recalled as consisting in the very neighbourhood of the creative individual. Thus considered, the smallest territorial area conceivable can be aptly described as the conqueror's world. In the second place, India is a huge sub-continent, a world by itself. And last but not least, one may ask the question: Is Hinduism confined to India? No. The spirit of India has not rested content within the boundaries of the Indian sub-continent. Afghanistan and Central Asia were conquered by our Hindu religion and Hindu culture. Likewise was China conquered and it is in that conquest that we have to see the deeper significance of the Chinese Goodwill Mission of today. Burma and Siam (Thailand) were also similarly Hinduized. We may go to Siam (Thailand) and we shall find that the names of rulers over there are derived from Rama, Vikrama, Varman, Jaya, Indra, Ananda, etc. We may visit Indo-China and there also we shall encounter Hindu culture in daily life. In Sumatra, Java and the other Insulindian islands as well as in far-off Japan Hinduization is likewise manifest in temples, gods and goddesses, rituals and ceremonies. Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Siberia, Turkestan,—all these regions of Asia are to be recognized to a certain extent as the colonies of Hindu cult and Hindu culture. In one word, the whole of northern, southern and eastern Asia bears traces of Hindu ideological imperialism. This represents the domination of Hindu ideology over others, their acculturation to Hindu ideas and ideals. Is western Asia to be treated as lying outside the sphere of influence of Hindu imperialism? No. Hindu arts and sciences, algebra, arithmetic, *Ayurveda*, therapeutics, metallurgy, fables, stories, philosophies, crossed the Himalaya mountains and the Khyber Pass. They were accepted as the arts and sciences of the Muslims, the Saracens of Baghdad.

From there they passed on to the Europeans who accepted them as some of the foundations of their mathematics, chemistry, medicine, etc. Thus our Hindu ideals, manners and sentiments which began at Mohenjo-daro in Sind and in the Punjab have spread everywhere in Asia and to a certain extent in Europe. Hinduism is then by all means a world-imperialism.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Structural Basis of Indian Economy.—By H. Venkatasubbiah. Published by Allen and Unwin, London. Pp. 150. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

The book is a study of the economics of Imperalism. Its purpose is to show that economic activity in India has been influenced largely by certain institutions, *e.g.*, landlordism and industrial capitalism. The author argues that landlordism is notorious for its fossilization. The present system of land tenure in the zamindari and the ryotwari areas was created by Imperalism for its dual need—progressive cultivation and regular flow of revenue. But it has failed to secure a progressive agricultural economy. The author also surveys the growth of large-scale production, particularly in the coal mining and the jute manufacturing industries and points out that industrial capitalism in India is at present immature, It will remain so as long as the State does not replace the managing agent as the financier of industry (p. 31). The prosperity of the coal mining and jute manufacturing industries is, according to our author, due to adventitious aids which external finance capital receives in this country (pp. 109, 136).

It will hardly be denied that the poliy of the government in this country has often been moulded by Imperialist considerations. But in any study of the economics of Imperalism it is necessary to guard against a confusion that might arise in mixing up the evils of unrestrained capitalism with those of Imperalism. The author refers to the reduction in the size of the pillars in coal mines to a point below the limit of safety. It is doubtful how far this evil can be attributed exclusively to the forces of Imperalism. For the neglect of vital long-period national interests in the ardent pursuit of private profits is a characteristic drawback of the capitalistic system of production. It is an evil which has been known to exist even in countries free from the domination of an Imperial partner. Orthodox economists have often pointed out the possibility of a divergence under unregulated capitalism between the marginal private net product and the marginal social net product.

On page 137 a statement is made that the price of raw jute is governed by the demand of the jute manufacturing industry in India. This appears to be a sweeping generalisation. For it ignores the whole complex of forces that determines the price relationship between jute manufactures and raw jute. On the whole the book is an interesting and stimulating one, for there is much in it that has been treated from a rather unusual point of view.

J. P. Niyogi

Holy Images: An Inquiry into Idolatry and Image-Worship in Ancient Paganism and in Christianity.—By Edwyn Bevan. Published by Allen and Unwin, London. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

The four lectures which appear in this volume were part of the Gifford Lectures delivered by Dr. Bevan in 1933. They were not included in the general volume (*Symbolism and Belief*) since they constitute a digression on a particular instance of symbolism.

The book is a veritable mine of information. Scholarly treatment and lucidity of style combine to carry conviction. The reader will readily agree to the author's main thesis that images have played and are destined to play an indispensible part in belief and religion. They raise our minds to God; of all symbols they are the most telling. So far so good. But there is another aspect of the question, raised by the author and summarily dismissed as if it were but rank superstition, *viz.*, that the image may, in certain circumstances, bring down the Divinity to the level of the worshipper. The use of idols in Hinduism is alluded to together with certain attitudes taken by the Eastern Christian Churches. The Holy Eucharist is mentioned in a footnote—an "aniconic" object of worship, we are told. Of course; yet part and parcel of a religion that centres around God-made man and through its sacramental system brings God down to the level of the faithful.

This aspect of the problem lies outside the scope of lectures on "Symbolism and Belief"; it hardly deserves the author's supercilious strictures whilst it may well inspire yet another course of Gifford Lectures on "God in Human Form."

P. TURMES, S.J.

Letters of Swami Vivekananda.—Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, the Himalayas. 1940. Pp. vii+420. Price Rs. 2-4.

Swami Vivekananda, a mighty influence in the national upheavals of modern India, speaks to us through these letters in words that still inspire across the intervening decades. Some of them are half a century old; but the appeal is modern. Social service, religious toleration, a profound reverence for the past glories of India and for spirituality, a burning sense of wrong done to our countless brethren in the name of untouchability, a keen eye for appreciating the excellences of Western life, and an ardent desire for rousing Indians to ceaseless activity, these characterise the letters that have been published in a very handy form by the Advaita Ashrama. The letters have, so far as possible, been chronologically arranged, and some of them have been included for the first time.

This collection of about three hundred letters will be appreciated by the admirers of the great Swamiji as well as by all interested in modern India, and the publishers are to be congratulated upon the way in which they have made accessible these epistles embodying the living word of the monk of India who had raised the status of India and her religion ever since his momentous speech at the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago.

P. R. SEN

The Hidden Leaven.—By R. Ryburn, M.A. Price not mentioned.

The work of the Christian Missionaries in India comes in as much for praise as for blame in the Indian public opinion. Sometimes the missionaries are revered as the apostles of Western culture and sometimes despised as auxiliaries of British imperialism. In the "Hidden Leaven" Mr. Ryburn places the ideals of the Indian Church squarely with the cultural and political context of modern India and studies the whole problem with the spirit of a dispassionate investigator. He makes a special study of

the social and educational work of the Christian missions and shows that they can be of great assistance to struggling India if they have (what Pater calls) that passionate stress of spirit which the world owes to Christianity.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Dābī (Claim).—By Shri Nirendranath Ray. Published by Bharati-bhavan, 11, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 84. Price Annas Twelve only.

There has been, of late years, some response to the cry for the stamp of contemporary times on modern Bengali fiction, the stamp of political work and thought in particular. Saratchandra's *Pather Dābī* was in a sense a pioneer work in this line; the novel under review, which is a work on the same lines, was composed about twelve years ago, though printed and published much later. There is thus a connecting link between the two.

India is changing—changing intensely; and the idealist in youth is faced with a conflict. It is this conflict which the novelist has essayed to portray. Asit and Anil, thrown together as students of the same college, introduce the plot which soon gathers a romantic interest round Asit and Purnima, Anil's sister. She has fallen in love with him; but he, with a clearer comprehension of the world's opposition and his own weak resistance, cannot accept that love: Purnima's love could never be an absorbing passion with him. He was drifting surely into the vortex of revolutionism—his father's remarks against Purnima's mother had antagonised him, he had been estranged from his parents and left home, he had deliberately cut himself off from Purnima's people, and Bijay and Ariff, workers for the people's rise, draw him in. But Asit could never be a terrorist, and he succeeded in inducing Bijay to think over and scrutinise his ideal. Bijay sacrificed himself, and Ariff too (it was inevitable), and thus proved that Asit's pleadings did not go in vain. Socialism, nationalism, terrorism—these were, Asit realised after his tragic experience, not for him; he must work for his soul's freedom. Purnima met him and tried to take care of him, care that he sorely needed; but he feels the danger of forgetting the call in the nearness to Purnima. He bids her farewell, and she accepts it; at the same time she understands that their ways must drift; she sees, after all, that Asit has succumbed to Tradition, and she must trudge by herself on Lenin's way. And with this realisation and mutual farewell the novel ends.

The Ideal reveals itself in many ways—socialism, religion, revolution—and modern India chooses and chooses. It is true that most men do not know their own mind, and drift. Some lives are wrecked on the shoals of ignorance, while others cease to live truly. What claims to accept, and which to reject? Purnima moves on—undeterred by disappointments which have to be. If Asit is the hero of the book, does not the future belong to Purnima? She gives up her claim on Asit as he entreats her to do so, but feels the need of walking along her own way.

The author has shown considerable and commendable restraint (and rightly, for the dedication is to late Prof. M. Ghose of Presidency College, Calcutta whose studies and temperament took the classics for their basis in language) in the portrayal of the different characters, and also in the delineation of piquant situations. The gain has been great in clearness of perspective, of outlines; and the impression that stands out after laying down the book is that nothing is indistinct or blurred. Sunayani's story recedes into the background and is left unsaid; but it is the story

of Purnima and Asit that the novelist seeks to tell. And even their individuality grows faint, in view of the surging thought of Young India grappling with its problems. The story never flags, and the presentation of the problem nowhere caricatures men and minds.

P. R. SEN

Kovalan and Kannaki: The Story of the 'Silappadhikaram.'—By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, F.R.S.I. Published by Messrs C. Coomarswamy Naidu & Sons, 27, Chinnatambi Street, Madras. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.

Mr. A. S. P. Ayyar is an experienced hand at rendering English versions of Indian stories, and in this book, as the sub-title tells us, he has given the story of the great Tamil epic. The story interest is fully sustained in his version, and it has been made ascessible now to thousands of readers who could never be expected to cultivate a first-hand acquaintance with the epic. The reader is tempted to ask: Why is not a map attached, to give a definite idea of the country relating to this great work, composed about 1,800 years ago?

The introduction, admirable in its scope which is comprehensive, betrays a slight regional interest in the struggle between the north and the south of India; and it also assures the Tamils that they have nothing to fear from Sanskrit and Hindi. Sanskrit, to be sure, will remain the language for the scholar, while the politician can revile at Hindi, only at his own risk. The Indian National Congress has clearly stated through Mahatma Gandhi that the cultivation of one's mother-tongue is the duty of all Congressmen, and that no conflict is intended betweed Hindi and, for that matter, Tamil.

It is to be fervently wished that Mr. Ayyar will follow the present work with an equally handy version of the 'Manimekhalai,' the other great epic of the Tamils. Anyway, Mr. Ayyar is doing real work for the modern Indian languages.

P. R. SEN

Alivardi and his Times.—By Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Patna College. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1939. Pp. xix + 308, with 2 maps and 2 illustrations. Price Rs. 4.

The work under review is a very valuable and interesting contribution to modern Indian history. As the author points out, a critical study of the history of Alivardi's reign is necessary "in order to understand the genesis and significance of the political and the economic revolutions in Bengal since the middle of the eighteenth century." It would be a mistake to regard the history of Alivardi's reign merely as an episode in the *local* history of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. His efforts to check the Marathas (so ably described in Chapter III of Dr. Datta's book) and to "restrain the growing ambition of the foreign trading companies" (narrated with many interesting details in Chapter V) merge it in the stream of general Indian history. Dr. Datta has done ample justice to the political and administrative abilities of this masterful Nawab. He has carefully collected all available details about his early career (Chapter I). He shows how he

acquired the subahdarship and consolidated his authority (Chapter II). The story of the Afghan insurrections is narrated in full (Chapter IV). Three interesting chapters on the economic and social history of Bengal in Alivardi's time bring the book to conclusion (Chapters VII-IX). This exhaustive and authoritative treatment of the subject is the result of ten years' careful study of original materials in many languages—English, French, Persian, Marathi, Sanskrit, Bengali, Oriya and Hindi. The long bibliography (covering 13 pages) at the end of the book shows that Dr. Datta has not left unexplored any possible source of information. We congratulate him on the success he has achieved in producing a compact and delightful treatise from scattered and discordant materials.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

Nandapur (A Forsaken Kingdom), Part I.—By Kumar Bidyadhar Sing Deo, B.L., Advocate, Jeypore (Orissa); with an introduction by Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao, Andhra Research University, Vizianagram. 1939. Pp. viii + x + 156.

The author of the book under review attempts to give an account of the old kingdom of Nandapur, which is the same as the modern Jeypore State. The book is divided into four chapters. Chapter I deals with the early history of the region and gives an account of the age of Vināyakadeva (*c.* 1443-76) and his immediate successors. Chapter II deals with the period from Yaśovanta or Dasmatta (*c.* 1597-1637) to the successors of Balarāma II (*c.* 1684-86). Ch. III traces the history up to the expulsion of the French from the Northern Circars, and Chapter IV brings it up to the close of the eighteenth century. The book contains 22 illustrations and as many as 16 appendices. A map of the Jeypore region, however, is wanting.

The mighty Nandas of Pāṭaliputra appear to have had relations with Kaliṅga and a dynasty called Nanda or Nandodbhava, probably claiming descent from the former, ruled in the country about the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. (see Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 77, note 2). The name of Nandapur may, therefore, be traced to a very early period. After the Cheti (= Chedi) or Cheta (= Chaidya) dynasty represented by Khāravela, Kaliṅga became parcelled out into a number of small principalities, and this state (though later partially disturbed by the Imperial Gaṅgas, the Muhammadans, the Marathas and the English) continues even up to the present day. The history of many of such States remains still uninvestigated. We, therefore, congratulate Mr. Sing Deo on his attempt to give us an account af the Jeypore Rāj.

It should, however, be pointed out that the author's treatment of the subject is not quite satisfactory. Too much of unnecessary traditional details and lenghty quotations (pp. 8 ff., 26 ff., 31 ff., etc.) sometimes disturbs the smooth course of the account, and some of the appendices (*e.g.*, E, P, etc.) have only slight bearing on the topic. Want of proper diacritical marks is another unpleasant feature of the work. Many of the illustrations (*e.g.*, Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 22, etc.), again, are practically useless for historical purposes.

The author does hot appear to be quite up to date. His remarks about the religion of the Nandas (p. 147) and the Salakênoi of Ptolemy

(p. 153; *cf.* Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 71) are not supported by evidence. The real name of the author's Vijayachandrākhya (p. 11 *et passim*) seems to be Vijayachandra.

Inspite of the shortcomings, the book is interesting for its wealth of materials and for the fact that it deals with an important period of Orissan history.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Ourselves

[I. Re-nomination of Ordinary Fellows.—II. University Teacher to serve on Soil Science Committee.—III. The Ramkrishna Vidyamandir, Belur.—IV. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee.—V. M. L. Examination, 1940.—VI. Election of Deans of Faculties.—VII. Donation for Research in Mica.—VIII. Dates for Examinations.—IX. Srikail College, Tippera.—X. Bethune College.—XI. American Academy of Political and Social Science.—XII. Appointment of Ordinary Fellow.—XIII. Grants to non-Government Arts Colleges.—XIV University Representatives on the Dacca Intermediate Board.—XV. Beereshur Mitter Medal, 1940.—XVI. Inter-University Sports Board.—XVII. Indian Football Association, Bengal.—XVIII. Sir P. C. Ray: Eightieth Birthday Celebration Committee.—XIX. Mr. Humayun Kabir.—XX. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.—XXI. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty.].

I. Re-nomination of Ordinary Fellows

His Excellency the Chancellor is pleased to re-nominate Prof. Subodhchandra Mahalanobis, B.Sc., F.R.S.E., and Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A. as Ordinary Fellows of the University. Prof. Mahalanobis's term of office expired on January 10, 1941, and that of Sir Sarvapalli on the 27th of February, 1941.

His Excellency is pleased to nominate Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University *vice* Jatindra mohan Ray, deceased.

* * *

II. University Teacher to serve on Soil Science Committee

Prof. J. N. Mukherjee of the University College of Science has been appointed by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, to serve on its Soil Science Committee whose life extends up to the 31st March, 1944.

Our University has informed the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research that it has no objection to the appointment.

* * *

III. The Ramkrishna Vidyamandir, Belur

The Syndicate has recommended that the above institution be affiliated to the University to the I.A. standard in the following subjects with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42:

English, Bengali (Compulsory), Sanskrit, History, Elements of Civics and Economics, Logic and Mathematics.

* * *

IV. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., has been appointed a representative of this University on the Inter-University Board with effect from April 1, 1941. The Board has elected Dr. Mookerjee its President for the current term.

* * *

V. M. L. Examination, 1940

Out of the six candidates who sat for the degree of Master of Law Examination held in December, 1940, only one candidate has passed and the rest failed. The successful candidate has been placed in the First Class.

* * *

VI. Election of Deans of Faculties

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., has been elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts for the year 1941-42. Sir Upendranath Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.N.I., F.S.M.F. (Bengal) has been elected Dean of the Faculty of Science for the year 1941-42. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., M.A., B.L., has been elected Dean of the Faculty of Law and Mr. M. N. Bose, M.B., C.M. (Edin.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), Dean of the Faculty of Medicine for the same period.

* * *

VII. Donation for Research in Mica

Messrs. Chatturam Horilram, Ltd., have offered to place the sum of Rs. 1,500 at the disposal of Prof. S. K. Mitra of the University College of Science for equipping and strengthening the University laboratory with a view to investigating into the electrical properties of

Indian mica. Prof. Mitra has already obtained satisfactory results by his research in the subject.

The University has accepted with thanks the offer of Rs. 1,500 by Messrs. Chatturam Horilram, Ltd., for testing mica.

* * *

VIII. Dates for Examinations

The commencing date for the next Law Examinations has been fixed to be 16th June, 1941.

* * *

IX. Srikail College, Tippera

The Syndicate has recommended that the Srikail College, Tippera, be affiliated to the I.A. standard in the following subjects with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42: English, Bengali, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, History, Logic, Mathematics, Elements of Civics and Economics, Commercial Geography, and Commercial Arithmetic, and Elements of Book-Keeping.

* * *

X. Bethune College

The Syndicate has recommended that the Bethune College be affiliated in Biology to the I.A. and I.Sc. standards from the next session in addition to the subjects the institution is already teaching.

* * *

XI. American Academy of Political and Social Science

The Forty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Academy was held on the 4th and 5th April, 1941. Our University has sent its good wishes to the authorities of the Academy on the occasion.

* * *

XII. Appointment of Ordinary Fellow

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Rai Sahib Panchanan Ganguli, B.E., as an Ordinary Fellow of the

University in place of Mr. Praphullachandra Ghosh, M.A., whose term of office expired on the 31st January, 1941.

* * *

XIII. Grants to Non-Government Arts Colleges

The University has been requested to make recommendations for the distribution of the sum of Rs. 80,000 (eighty thousand) provided in the Budget for 1941-42 among non-Government Arts Colleges affiliated to this University. It has been suggested by Government that the sum of Rs. 6,000 may be kept apart out of this money for the benefit of women's colleges in the province.

The University has invited applications from Heads of colleges for participation in the grant. The claims of the different colleges will be considered by a committee consisting of the following gentlemen :—

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor,

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas, C.I.E., M.A., B.L.,

Dr. Harendracoomar Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.,

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A.,

The University Inspector of Colleges.

* * *

XIV. University Representatives on the Dacca Intermediate Board

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., and Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti, M.A., have been appointed representatives of the University on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca, for the year 1941-42.

* * *

XV. Beereshur Mitter Medal, 1940

The above medal will be awarded to Mr. Pratulchandra Dasgupta, M.A., who submitted a thesis entitled " Gold Exports from India since 1931." His thesis was recommended for the award by his examiners

Sir J. C. Coyajee, Kt., B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law and Dr. Gyan Chand, M.A., Ph.D.

* * *

XVI. INTER-UNIVERSITY SPORTS BOARD

Mr. Anathnath Chatterjee, M.B., B.S., Honorary Secretary, Students' Welfare Committee, has been appointed a representative of this University on the Inter-University Sports Board.

* * *

XVII. INDIAN FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION, BENGAL

The undermentioned gentlemen have been nominated representatives of this University on the above Association :—Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., and Mr. Umaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.

* * *

XVIII. SIR P. C. RAY: EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

An appeal for funds has been recently addressed to the public of India under the signatures of Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Maurice Gwyer, Sir M. N. Mukerji, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Sastri and many other eminent men for celebrating the eightieth birthday of Sir P. C. Ray. The idea of honouring the doyen of Bengal's scientists originated with Sir Nripendranath Sircar who was one of the old pupils of Sir P. C. Ray.

We heartily associate ourselves with the appeal and hope and believe that the country will not fail to be generous in its response to it. Sir P. C. Ray has been an inspiring teacher to generations of students. He has stirred the impulse for original investigation into activity in many of his pupils who are now themselves renowned scientists. He is one of the great benefactors of his country whose gift to his country consisted not only in his work as teacher and as guide, friend and philosopher of young learners of science for more than half a century, not only in the donations he has made to the University substantially representing a life-time of earning but also in an important measure in the lofty idealism which his life illustrates by his deliberate

acceptance of an ascetic principle. He has thus proved to his generation that the highest intellectual culture may be combined with simplicity of life such as we associate with the forest civilization of ancient India and has magnificently vindicated the theory of plain living and high thinking.

The reception proposed to be held in honour of Sir P. C. Ray should be on a scale appropriate to so great a man and we invite all admirers of the great scientist to come forward with subscriptions. Dr. N. N. Law is the Treasurer of the Committee and Dr. M. N. Saha and Dr. B. C. Guha, Secretaries.

* * *

XIX. Mr. Humayun Kabir

Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.), was recently invited by the Madras University to deliver a course of lectures on Poetry as its Sir George Stanley Lecturer for the current year. Mr. Kabir's discourse on "Poetry, Monads and Society" was divided into three lectures. He delivered them in the Senate Hall, Madras.

Mr. Kabir's work is being printed by the Calcutta University and will be published early next month.

* * *

XX. Sir S. Radhakrishnan

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan who was appointed George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy on the retirement of Sir Brajendranath Seal in 1920 has resigned with effect from July 1, 1941, so as to be free to accept a Professorship in Indian Culture recently established in the University of Benares of which he is also the Vice-Chancellor.

Sir Sarvapalli was made a permanent incumbent of the University in 1931 but his services were lent to the Government of Madras during the period 1931 May—1937 August. From 1938 until the outbreak of the War, Sir Sarvapalli served the University of Oxford as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics for six months every year from June to January.

Although Sir Sarvapalli has resigned the Professorship, his association with the University as Ordinary Fellow will continue and it is hoped that our University will not lose the co-operation in its Councils

of so great an educationist and philosopher even if circumstances do not permit him to hold the Chair in Philosophy.

The University has decided to honour Sir Sarvapalli by making him an *Emeritus* Professor.

* * *

XXI. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty delivered a series of Readership lectures at the invitation of the Panjab University. The subject of his discourse which was divided into six lectures was "New Studies in English Literature." These addresses were given at Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lyallpur, Ludhiana and Ambala during the second week of March, 1941.

In these lectures Dr. Chakravarty dealt with the basic tradition of English literature from the point of view of technique and of its assimilation of new ideas.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
MAY, 1941

MAHATMA GANDHI'S INTERPRETATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF SATYA-AHIMSA

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

Fellow, Calcutta University ; Member, Legislative Assembly, Bengal; Organising Secretary, All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

AT a time when Europe was getting ready for the suicidal conflict in which we see her engaged to-day and to which practically every nation in the West has been gradually drawn, India, distracted by social and religious dissensions, found nevertheless true leadership in a little, insignificant-looking man who has somehow succeeded in inspiring thousands of men and women drawn from every social stratum and every religious group to enlist themselves as soldiers in an army where the weapons used are Satya (Truth) and Ahimsa (Non-Violence). The method Gandhiji and his followers have followed is to be found in the following pronouncement made by him in " Young India," October 8, 1925 :—

" I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first dazzle him and at last compel recognition, which recognition would not humiliate, but would uplift him. It may be urged that this is an ideal state. And so it is,"

It seems, therefore, that while nearly all the so-called progressive nations of the world are relying on brute force as a means of settling differences and while the systems to which they are giving their allegiance represent the denial of justice and the principle of the brotherhood of man, our great national leader stands out as an isolated and therefore all the more impressive prophet of the gospel of Satya and Ahimsa. And he is obeyed by millions in India not because he is the master of untold riches, of secret police or of engines of destruction, not because he has inspired fear in their hearts, but solely because of the wisdom and humanity of his message. He relies for his influence over his followers on his appeal to the spiritual side of their nature. He shows them what he is convinced is the truth and leaves them to shape their conduct as they please. He never claims to have a monopoly of truth nor does he declare that there is no other way to it except the one he suggests. Gandhiji is the master of that spiritual authority in the light of which material values seem to lose all their importance.

Mahatma Gandhi's Conception of Satya

When he founded his Ashram of what he called Soul-Force, Mahatma Gandhi framed certain rules for its inmates the first and foremost of which is the vow of Satya or Truth. He does not uphold Satya because "honesty is the best policy," with the implication that if it is not expedient as the best policy, we may as well depart from it. In his own language, "Truth as it is conceived means that we may have to rule our life by this law of Truth at any cost." Referring to the life of Prahlad famous in Indian mythology he says, "For the sake of Truth he dared to oppose his own father; and he defended himself, not by paying his father back in his own coin. Rather, in defence of Truth, as he knew it, he was prepared to die without caring to return the blows that he had received from his father, or from those who were charged with his father's instructions. Not only that, he would not in any way even parry the blows; on the contrary, with a smile on his lips, he underwent the innumerable tortures to which he was subjected, with the result that at last Truth rose triumphant. Not that he suffered the tortures because he knew that some day or other in his very life-time he would be able to demonstrate the infallibility of the law of Truth. That fact was there; but if he had died in the

midst of tortures he would still have adhered to Truth. In our Ashram we make it a rule that we must say 'No' when we mean No, regardless of consequences."

Some Illustrations of Satya

This is a very high standard to demand and yet we know that Gandhiji observes it himself thus setting an example not only to his followers but also to the world at large. The very first public work he took up after his return to India was a campaign for the amelioration of the tenants of the indigo planters of Champaran in Bihar. Few, if any, had any idea at that time of the qualities of leadership he possessed and his interference in a matter which did not concern him was greatly resented not only by the planters but also by Government officials. In this connection, the Collector of Champaran wrote him an offensive letter which he later on wished to withdraw. The followers of Gandhiji began to make a copy of it but they were asked not to do so as he felt that the letter could not be said to have been truly withdrawn so long as they had a copy of it in their possession.

The same courteous procedure was followed on a similar occasion when, during the negotiations preceding the Gandhi-Irwin pact, the Home Secretary after writing an insulting letter decided to withdraw it. No copy of it was kept because our great national leader held that to keep a copy of a withdrawn letter means not only finding a place for it in the office files but also in the heart. Such a course of action characterised by untruth is bound to lead to violence. It is thus that Mahatma Gandhi explains the vital connection between Asatya and Himsa or Satya and Ahimsa.

There is, moreover, a positive side to his conception of Satya. When Non-Violent Non-Co-Operation was launched in 1921, Mahatma Gandhi, who had made the Khilafat cause his own and was the recognised leader of the Congress, joined forces with the Ali brothers and toured the country with them, addressing mass meetings of Hindus and Muslims and exhorted them to take part in the movement. The speeches of our great national leader were always characterised by moderation but it cannot be said that the same was always true of the speeches made by his coadjutors. When this matter was put before Mahatma Gandhi by Lord Reading, his love of Satya compelled him to admit the truth of this charge brought against the Ali brothers. He

persuaded them to express regret for certain speeches which, in the opinion of many, "had a tendency to incite violence."

When the Non-co-operation movement was stained time and again by acts of violence, he immediately called it off prompted by the same love of Satya He took this step against the wishes, the entreaties and even the vehement opposition of many of his followers. They felt that this would bring such discredit on the whole movement that any future revival of it would be out of the question. We all know that a large majority of them repudiated his leadership when he publicly announced his decision and that deserted by the moderate element which had no belief in the efficacy of direct action and by the extremists who thought everything fair in war, Gandhiji lost his hold, at least for some time, over his countrymen. He could easily foresee what was going to happen and yet in reply to an article which appeared about this time in the "Modern Review" of Calcutta from the pen of our great national poet Tagore he could say, "If we would gain Swaraj, we must stand for Truth as we knew it at any cost. A reformer who is enraged because his message is not accepted must retire to the forest to learn how to watch, wait, and pray." Writing in his paper "Young India" he said, "We dare not enter the Kingdom of Liberty with mere lip homage to Truth and Non-Violence. Let the opponent glory in our humiliation or so-called defeat. It is a million times better to appear untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves".

His love of Satya (Truth) which impelled him to acknowledge mistakes he had made was also responsible for his fearless denunciation of what he considered wrong. After the Punjab atrocities of 1920 and the betrayal of the interests of the Khilafat in 1921, matters to which want of space prevents any reference, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his "Young India":

"I consider that I would be less than truthful if I did not describe as satanic a Government which has been guilty of fraud, murder and wanton cruelty; which still remains unrepentant and resorts to untruth to cover its guilt. I really believe that I am performing the office of a friend by denouncing in precise language the pretensions of a Government which has nothing to commend itself to the people under its charge."

Here there is not the slightest attempt at toning down or whitewashing the wrongs for which Mahatma Gandhi held the British

Government responsible. Mahatmaji did not hesitate to use the strongest language against the British administration because without it he saw he could not give full expression to his indignation. Many of our Non-Indian friends have taken special exception to the use of the word " satanic " in this connection. I would like to remind them that Mahatma Gandhi who, in his autobiography, has made no secret of the impulses in his own blood which once drove him to evil has, by the confession of his own weaknesses, undoubtedly earned the right to draw the pointed attention of the world to the manifestation of evil whenever he might see them. To point them out where the people criticised are powerless and to keep silent where they are strong would be to indulge in conduct which should be impossible for a man of this type, for had he not proclaimed that " there is no God higher than Truth. Truth is the first thing sought for "?

With all his uncompromising adherence to Satya (Truth), Mahatma Gandhi does not make the slightest claim to having achieved it. Writing in December, 1921, he said, " I am but a seeker after Truth. I claim to be making a ceaseless effort to find it. But I admit that I have not yet found it. To find Truth completely is to realize oneself and one's destiny, I am painfully conscious of my imperfections, and therein lies all the strength I possess ; because it is a rare thing for a man to know his own limitations." It is his spirituality of which the humility expressed above is only a symptom coupled with his undoubtedly great qualities as a leader which have endeared him to both the classes and the masses of India who have unitedly accorded him the unique position he is to-day occupying in the public life of our motherland.

Mahatma Gandhi's Conception of Ahimsa

In Mahatma Gandhi's view, there is such intimate connection between Ahimsa ordinarily translated as Non-violence and Satya (Truth) that these, in his own language, " are inseparable and presuppose one another." It is therefore that in his Ashram the vow of Ahimsa stands next to the vow of Satya. Ahimsa means non-violence in thought, word and deed and as such makes very exacting demands on man's spiritual nature. The people of the West do not find it easy to appreciate the reasons which have made Ahimsa

the most important principle of Gandhiji's religious life. This is because they are not all aware of the emphasis laid on this doctrine in Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism—the religions which have had such a large share in moulding the spiritual life of India.

Buddhism and Ahimsa

Paul Carus in his "Gospel of Buddha" refers to a legend according to which King Brahmadatta defeated a rival king, compelled him to go into exile and then killed him and his queen. But he lost his peace of mind and was in constant apprehension of the vengeance which might be taken by their son who had somehow escaped. Concealing his identity, this prince managed to get appointed as the personal attendant of his parents' murderer. On one occasion, the latter who had gone out on a hunting excursion felt tired and fell asleep with his head on the lap of his attendant, the disguised prince. As he was about to kill his enemy, the words of his father came back to his mind, "Not by hatred is hatred appeased. Hatred is appeased only by not-hatred." The prince sheathed his sword and, when Brahmadatta awoke, disclosed his identity. When Brahmadatta begged for mercy he said, "How can I grant you your life, O King, since my life is endangered by you? It is you, O King, who must grant me my life." Brahamadatta asking for an explanation of his words was told, "You have murdered my parents. If I kill you, then your followers will kill me and my followers in their turn will kill your followers. Thus by hatred, hatred will not be appeased. But now you have granted me my life, and I have granted you your life, thus by not-hatred has hatred been appeased." Buddha thereupon said, "Not by hate is hate destroyed: by love alone hate is destroyed" and addressing his disciples taught them the golden maxim, "Overcome anger by the power of non-anger and evil by the power of good."

Jainism and Ahimsa

Mahatmaji has also told us how one verse of a Gujrati poem which he had learnt by heart during his school days has clung to his memory all through his life, and, let me add, probably given a definite shape to his ideas. It runs as follows:—

" If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing.

" Real beauty consists in doing good against evil."

In this connection we have to remember that the religious faith of the family to which Gandhiji belongs has been Vaishnavism which insists on Ahimsa as one of its cardinal doctrines. We are also aware that on the eve of his departure for England, his mother took him to a Jain Sadhu before whom he took a solemn vow not to touch alcohol and animal food and to observe the strictest chastity. He has told us in his autobiography that this saved him " from many a pitfall " in London." The silent influence of a good and pious Vaishnava mother may be said to be her last and most precious gift to her great son. All these facts go to prove that the great influence of Jainism with its insistence on the sacredness of life, an influence characteristic more or less of Hindu life in western and northern India, reached Gandhiji through his family. Apart from any question of the direct influence of Jainism on Gandhiji, it has to be admitted that Jainism no less than Buddhism cherishes the ideal of Ahimsa as one of the most important articles of its faith.

Hinduism and Ahimsa

It would be a mistake to suppose that this type of idealism, for it is nothing else, is the monopoly of Buddhism or of Jainism. It is found in Hinduism also. As early as the days of that ancient epic the Mahabharata, Hinduism regarded Ahimsa as the very summit of its religious goal. The whole of at least Hindu India is familiar with that celebrated teaching of the Mahabharata which may be rendered into English in the following terms, " Ahimsa is the supreme religion." This is as familiar even among the common people as any of the great sayings of Christ among the same class of people in the West.

Islam and Ahimsa

It would, however, be unfair if we labour under the impression that Ahimsa has its faithful followers in India only or that the precious message it has for mankind has been preached in our motherland only. We have in Arabia a legend which has Yusuf, an Arab

chief, for its hero. He was abundantly blessed with the things of this world and was known as Yusuf the Good throughout Arabia. It is said that late in a stormy night, a stranger sought his hospitality and told him that he was fleeing from the arm of law. He was made welcome and next morning was provided with a purse of gold and the swiftest horse in the stable of his host, in order to help him in his flight. Touched by the kind and generous treatment of Yusuf, the guest confessed that he had murdered the eldest son of his host and was trying to evade those who were pursuing him in order to punish him for his crime. The story goes on to say that Yusuf gave him thrice the amount of gold offered previously and showed him how to escape from his pursuers. When he had left, Yusuf knelt down and said, "My first born for whom my heart yearns day and night, thou art avenged and canst now sleep in peace."

Christianity and Ahimsa

The founder of Christianity also conveyed that same lesson to his followers when he said, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." Paul who has been called the second founder of Christianity has elaborated the idea in that memorable saying of his, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst, give him drink.....Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." The last sentence is noteworthy as fully expressing the Christian method of meeting evil.

Throughout the ages, there have never been wanting genuine followers of the Lord and Master who have walked the path of humility, of forgiveness and of love. John Woolman a study of whose writings has been recommended by that well-known English essayist Charles Lamb came to know that the American Red Indians were murdering the European settlers and said that he felt "a pure moving of love" to visit them in order to know them better so that he "might receive some instruction from them." He met them on the war path and told them why he had come to pay them a visit and concluded with a brief prayer. Not only did they stop all hostilities but one of them said, "I love to feel where words come from," thus indicating, of course

in an indirect way, the change of heart wrought by his Christian attitude.

Still another genuine follower of Christ, James Naylor, had his tongue bored through and through with a red-hot iron, was pilloried for two hours when he was pelted with stones, rotten eggs, etc., by a misguided and infuriated mob, was whipped at a cart-tail through the streets of London and had his forehead branded with the letter " B " to indicate that these inhuman punishments had been inflicted on him because he had been condemned as a blasphemer. He was the victim of other equally cruel persecutions not mentioned here.

The reaction of this saint to the indignities and bodily pain inflicted on him is to be found in what he said, " There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end ; its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it is betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned ; it takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow and brought forth without any to pity it ; nor does it ever murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings ; for with the world's joy it is murdered."

Surely these words indicate that the man who could, in the midst of such bodily sufferings and mental agony, give expression to such lofty sentiments was guided by the spirit of Satya-Ahimsa.

Ahimsa and Non-killing

These instances taken from the great religions merely prove that the value of Ahimsa as a spiritual discipline has been recognised by all the great teachers of the world. It is, however, a matter of regret that certain types of Hinduism, owing to the decay of the true spirit of religion, have tended to emphasise merely its negative aspect. With them Ahimsa has meant only the determination not to take the life of even the smallest of insects which I regard as an example of the

extreme application of a sovereign truth. That our great national leader is not content with such a narrow interpretation of the great principle is evident from what he has said on more than one occasion.

There was once difference of opinion as to whether it was right to kill an ailing calf at his Sabarmati Ashram which was suffering great agony. Gandhiji was in favour of putting it out of misery and said:

" The trouble with our votaries of Ahimsa is that they have made of it a blind fetish and put the greatest obstacle in the way of the spread of true Ahimsa in our midst. The current (and in my opinion mistaken) view of Ahimsa has drugged our conscience and rendered us insensible to a host of other and more insidious forms of violence, like harsh words, harsh judgments, ill-will, anger, spite, and lust of cruelty ; it has made us forget that there may be far more violence in the slow torture of men and animal the starvation and exploitation to wthich they are subjected out of selfishgreed, the wanton humiliation and oppression of the weak and the killing of their self-respect that we witness all around us to-day than in the benevolent taking of life.

" It is this fundamental misconception about the nature and scope of Ahimsa—this confusion about the relative values that is responsible for our mistaking mere non-killing for Ahimsa, and for the fearful amount of violence that goes on in the name of Ahimsa in our country."

The Positive Aspect of Ahimsa

If we accept Mahatma Gandhi's interpretation of the doctrine of Ahimsa, we have to admit that in addition to being a negative virtue, it has also a positive aspect and implies active goodness. It is therefore that Mahatmaji said, " Ahimsa means the largest love. It is the supreme law. By it alone can mankind be saved." Not only does it not imply the doing of any violence to the oppressor with intent to destroy him but it aims at changing his heart by suffering joyfully any punishment which might be inflicted and showing love to him in return so as to conquer his heart. In a word, the votary of Ahimsa maintains that wrong can be righted for all times to come by following one method only and this is to bring about a radical change in the ideals of the opponent. This change, it is held, will not only make it impossible for him to oppress innocent people any more but will, what is more,

teach him to deal justly with all including the person who has carried on a non-violent struggle against him. But how is this change to be brought about? It will be brought about not by Himsa, or by retaliation but by putting up with suffering unresistingly at the hands of the evil-doer till such time as he is touched and his heart, in the language of the Scriptures, is changed. That was why Mahatma Gandhi said, "India must conquer her so-called conqueror by love." And elsewhere, "We must love our English administrators and pray to God that they may have wisdom to see what appears to us to be their error. I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart. We must by our conduct demonstrate to every Englishman that he is as safe in the remotest corner of India as he proposes to feel behind his machine-gun."

Ahimsa in Actual Practice

It now remains to prove that Mahatma Gandhi did succeed in inspiring thousands of Indians of all classes with the idealism which informs the doctrine of Ahimsa. The evidence I am about to place before my readers is not taken from Indian sources in order to anticipate any criticism which might come from non-Indian quarters, challenging its reliablity. All the proofs will therefore be taken from non-Indian sources in order that it might be above suspicions of any kind of bias.

Here is what the Rev. Dr. Leonard M. Schiff who was an eye-witness has said in his book "The Present Condition of India":

"There are just two incidents which have stuck in my mind from those strange days. There was something very impressive about the Satyagrahis. It was a war, but on the whole a bloodless one. I recall a slim Gujerati girl who had been badly beaten remarking that, as someone else had said, 'Father, forgive them,' so must she!

"Then there were the Akali Sikhs—tall warriors with swords, but pledged to non-violence. They were determined not to surrender their flag. Down came the lathi on their heads with a sickening thud; they fell. Others took their place. At last the inner circle of their women-folk alone remained, but this was too much for the police—they kept their flag."

Here is another bit of evidence taken from a letter which appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" in December, 1930 in which

an Englishwoman, an eye-witness, narrates what she saw with her own eyes:

"On September 17th or 18th, I was on a balcony of the third floor of a house nearby and opposite to the Town Hall in Bombay, where an election was taking place. There was a large number of people, but quite peaceful and quiet; and those belonging to the Congress party were, in their usual well-organised and methodical way, regulating the traffic, guiding pedestrians through crowded parts and dispersing crowds where they became too dense to allow of slow driving through them. One of the men so engaged was struck with a lathi by a police sepoy; he did not retaliate nor move away. The second time he was struck he fell to the ground. Again he was beaten. Two of the ambulance men in attendance fetched a stretcher to take him to the ambulance car, as he was too much hurt to walk even with their aid. After he had been lifted into the stretcher the sepoy again struck him—a man already badly wounded—as he lay there being carried to the car.

"Some weeks previously (I am sorry I forget the exact date) I was watching a small crowd from a balcony above a store in one of the chief roads of the city. They had collected there when it became known that arrests were being made of the picketers.

"These picketers do not interfere with the people going into the shops.....At intervals this crowd was broken up in a most needlessly brutal way with lathis.....many people were severely hurt and had to be taken away in ambulance cars to the hospitals. One man—a peaceable citizen who did not belong to the Congress movement nor had anything to do with the Nationalists—was serving in his shop opposite to and a few yards away from the balcony where I was watching. As a lathi charge was made, a few of the people nearest his shop went into it to get out of the way of the sepoys. An English sergeant entered the shop, drove the people out with his whip, and severely beat the owner of the shop on his own premises. Hearing there were English people on the balcony opposite who were sympathisers with the ill-treated people, he came across, asked if we could explain the reason of such things being done, and showed us the mark on his back made through two thickness of cloth.....I have seen the Nationalists under the most terrible provocations, and never once have they resorted to violence or retaliation in any way, though when they are wounded or their women are ill-treated, it is fearfully hard for them."

It may of course be argued that in the four cases referred to above, the exponents of the doctrine of Satya-Ahimsa were merely displaying a rather unusual type of passive courage but that there was no manifestation of that spirit of active love which is the real driving force of this method of fighting wrongs. In order to meet this objection, I shall now quote a few lines from "The Dawn of Indian Freedom" written by two priests of the Church of England, Englishmen who have settled down as inmates of the Christa Seva Sangha of Poona and who, in the language of the Most Reverend the Archbishop of York, have devoted their lives to the task of " interpreting the Christian Gospel to India in the utmost possible detachment from purely European or British elements." Englishmen of this type, and they are not so few as we Indians think, are indeed " the salt of the earth " and have earned our undying gratitude by their advocacy of the cause of India in a fearless and truly Christian spirit. It is true that they have been called " Little Englanders " by men of the type of the late Lord Brentford but if at any time there is an understanding between Britain and India—a thing which every patriotic Briton and Indian would most gladly welcome—it will be because of the presence of such men in our midst, men who have spent themselves year in and year out in sympathetically interpreting and explaining in all their implications the demands of India to Britain and in the process have been misunderstood now by non-Indians and now by Indians. One of this noble band left us only the other day but we feel sure that he has left many like-minded Englishmen behind him.

Here is the account of the Rev. Father Verrier Elwin:

" I remember talking to a boy—he was not more than 19—in the Congress Hospital in Bombay. He had gone to Sholapur simply to offer National Flag Satyagraha, by hoisting the flag and taking the consequences. On arrival he had at once been arrested with his companions, all of them unarmed, defenceless boys; they were each put in separate cells, stripped naked, brutally assaulted in the most delicate parts of their bodies, and flogged till they fell senseless. My friend had been in hospital six weeks and was still suffering. But what amazsd me was, not the amount of his suffering, but the quality of his love. There was not a word of bitterness or anger. He was a Satyagrahi and it was his duty to suffer that he and thus his motherland might be the purer."

I shall now come to the last bit of evidence taken this time from

a book entitled " Rebel India " written by that staunch friend of ours, H. N. Brailsford, who is narrating an experience, " One face from among them (Satyagrahis) stands out in my memory: its owner, a lawyer, may have been too fine a spirit to be typical, but his thinking was characteristic of Gandhiji's movement. He had been the chief speaker at one of the few meetings (near Meerut) which were dispersed by rifle fire. He had tried to calm an angry crowd and had stationed a cordon of volunteers round the police station to protect it. He was, none the less, arrested, beaten by the police, and shot by one of them, while under arrest, at close range. The police kicked him as he lay on the ground, and five hours passed before he received first-aid. His right arm had to be amputated, and a day after the operation he was carried from hospital to prison. He told the story without a trace of bitterness, his face lit by a triumphant serenity. ' In prison,' he went on, ' my friends and I were happy and even gay.' ' Now we know,' one said to the other, ' that India is free. We have kept the master's sayings. We have faced even the rifle, and refrained from anger.' As one looked at the face of the man, proud in its gentleness, one ceased to pity the mutiliated arm."

After this, where is the fair-minded man who will not agree with the view put forward by one of the best of our non-Indian friends who observed, " For many the movement was a discipline and catharsis. It restored self-respect. The struggle was grim, disciplined, but it was conducted at a high level."

The Superiority of Satya-Ahimsa

The question of questions is whether in its actual application the idealism behind Satya-Ahimsa was kept in mind. National India contends that, taking into account the very large numbers participating in the different movements carried on by believers of this principle, and here let me remind my readers that at one time there were more than sixty thousand in jail for their non-violent activities, and the general ignorance of the masses, the spirit of Satya-Ahimsa was really and truly maintained. The British administration would point to cases where it is admitted that violence did break out and would emphasise the fact that where large numbers are concerned, there is always a very grave risk of Ahimsa degenerating into Himsa. While many among us would agree generally with the

truth underlying this contention, there is little doubt that as this technique rescued from oblivion and put into practice these days for the removal of grievances of various types is a fundamentally Indian, one, it is likely, even at its worst, to entail less damage than any other method which might be adopted for similar purposes. It should be recognised that the masses have at last awakened and that their patience under their real or fancied grievances have certain limits. Experience has shown that, in other parts of the world, grievances such as those from which India suffers have been redressed only as the result of the application of some kind of pressure. This pressure can take either a violent or a non-violent form. And it is to the credit of Mahatma Gandhi that he has forged for the use of India's millions a weapen which is calculated to give them their heart's desire without inflicting any appreciably extensive damage on their opponents. It is therefore that Romain Rolland compliments our great national leader on having "raised up three hundred millions of fellow men, shaken the British Empire and inaugurated in human politics the most powerful movement that the world has seen for nearly two thousand years."

Let no one imagine that this great international writer is talking about things of which he has little or no direct and intimate knowledge. Satya-Ahimsa with its ringing message of self-chosen suffering for fighting wrongs has not only appealed very widely to the disinherited millions of India who might naturally enough be expected to join any movement which holds out even distant hopes of improving their lot but it has proved equally effective in the case of those others who generally form the pillars of conservatism in other countries and are the strongest defenders of vested interests and established institutions. In this connection I may recall to the memory of my readers the words of an Englishman who had been living in India for many years. "When knighted members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, aged Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities, retired Judges of High Courts, and trusted and respected leaders of Indian thought and life of every shade of opinion, are in jail in opposition to our country's policy, it causes one to think furiously. If we cannot rule India without keeping in jail hundreds of India's most respected citizens, what about it?"

What interests me is not so much the damage done to the prestige or power of the British administration as the fact that the

adoption of Satya-Ahimsa brought into the national struggle many stalwart fighters who would have very carefully abstained from taking any part in it if there had been the slightest hint of any kind of even indirect appeal to violence.

Let me conclude by quoting a stanza from a poem by the Rev. Father Jack C. Winslow of the Christa Seva Sangha of Poona which very eloquently and very sympathetically interprets the spiritual element underlying the technique of Satya-Ahimsa and which alone has made possible the measure of success achieved hitherto.

"Others will fight with hatred and slaying,
Wade to a kingdom through blood outpoured.
We will conquer with God's own armour;
We will slay with the Spirit's sword;
Vanquish by Love that can meekly suffer;
Die and arise in the name of the Lord."

A NATION IN MAKING: THE UNITY OF INDIA

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SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA, in writing his autobiography in 1925, summed up his experience of fifty years of public life in India as *A Nation in Making*. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in addressing the Annual Convocation of Calcutta University only on the 8th March, 1941, said: "Those who live in India, whatever their religion or philosophy of life and from whatever part of the world their ancestors may have come in the past, do constitute a nation." He maintains that "the process of the evolution of a common culture, which is neither wholly Hindu nor wholly Moslem, has been ceaselessly at work during the last four or five centuries, if not longer, and was never more in evidence than in Mughal times." And yet what are we being told by some distinguished Anglo-Indian administrators and historians as to this Nation in Making? Sir John Strachey who took pride in remembering that four generations of his family had given to India the best portion of their lives, and who mentioned with peculiar pleasure that there was hardly a great office of the state in India, from that of Acting Viceroy, Lieutenant-Governor, or Member of Council downwards which he had not held, made the bold assertion in his lectures on India delivered before the University of Cambridge as early as 1884: "There is not, and never was an India or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social, or religious; no Indian nation, no people of India, of which we hear so much."[1] But the following sentences from the same lectures are significant and deserve the serious attention and the closest study of all nationalists in India. Strachey plainly and bluntly says: "When we say that we cannot always ignore differences of race, this is only another way of saying that the English in India are a handful of foreigners responsible

[1] Strachey, India : Its Administration and Progress, p. 5.

for the Government of nearly 300 millions of people.....The fact remains that there never was a country, and never will be, in which the Government of foreigners is really popular. It would be the beginning of the end of our empire if we were to forget this elementary fact.....We are foreigners, and *not only in our own interests*, but because it is our highest duty to India itself that we intend to *maintain our dominion*.....Let there be no hypocrisy about our intention to keep in the hands of our own people those executive posts on which, and on our political and military power, our actual hold of the country depends.....We ought never to forget differences of race..... As I have said before, no countries and no peoples of Europe differ from each other so profoundly as countries and peoples differ in India. No good administration or *permanent political security* is possible unless facts of this kind are remembered." [2] *(Italics mine.)*

England's anxiety about "good administration" in India has been repeatedly proclaimed, but why does Sir John Strachey become nervous about "permanent political security" in this country ? Why does he quote Machiavelli in his lectures in order to impress upon his English audience in 1884 the "imaginary character of Indian Nation never seen or known to exist in reality" ? [3]

Unfortunately for India, Strachey's utterances have been echoed and re-echoed by some Anglo-Indian administrators and Indian politicians on different platforms in this country. Mr. M. A. Jinnah is perhaps, the greatest protagonist of the multi-nation theory in India now, and the so-called Pakistan Resolution adopted by the All-India Muslim League at Lahore, on the 23rd March, 1940, and re-affirmed by the same League at Madras on the 15th April, 1941, is the most tangible expression of this theory. Strachey's emphasis on "the peoples of India" and on "the countries of India" pressed to its logical conclusion means the vivisection of the land and the dismemberment of the territorial, political and administrative integrity of the country. And this is exactly the crisis that is threatening India to-day. In the face of this over-whelming and baffling situation, the slogan of the present Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery—"India First"—is little consolation and is little help.

[2] Strachey, India : Its Administration and Progress, pp. 495-497.
[3] Strachey's Lecture quoted in Syed Mahmood's History of English Education in India, p. 261.

Strachey's emphasis on " No Indian nation, no people of India " had an altogether different effect on Ramsay Macdonald, at least for sometime. Ramsay Macdoald who personally visited India twice, and who became, three times, the Prime Minister of England, had a different tale to tell about the unity of India and about the " one Indian conscionsness " of its people. Macdonald wrote thus in his book, *The Government of India*, in 1919: " I would say that the first and most essential thing to learn about India is that the statement of Strachey is very misleading, especially if used for political purposes. India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay, is naturally the area of a single government. One has only to look at the map to see how geography has foreordained an Indian Empire. Its vastness does not obscure *its oneness* ; its variety, its *unity*.....Political and religious tradition has also welded it into *one Indian consciousness*.....This *spiritual unity* dates from very early times in Indian culture."[4] (*Italics mine.*) It is important to remember that this statement emanated from Macdonald in his unregenerate days—in the days when his name was even suggested for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress, in the days when Macdonald had not seen light, in the days when no thought had entered into his head of destroying " the one Indian consciousness " of India by the device of the so-called Communal Award of 1932. In 1919, " the inevitability of a united India " was an article of faith with Ramsay Macdonald, and this inspired all his responsible utterances.[5]

Macdonald thus supplies Strachey's refutation. But Macdonald's formula as to " the inevitability of a united India " needs some discussion. It is tempting to search for an appropriate political pedigree for this conception in the history of British India. At least half a century before Strachey's memorable lectures at Camridge, Thomas Babington Macaulay, speaking in the House of Commons on the 10th July, 1833, on the Government of India Bill of that year, referred in clear and unequivocal terms to the territorial, political and administrative integrity of India. Indeed the whole burden of the speech was the need for the creation of a central, unified authority for the administration of India. The East India

[4] Ramsay Macdonald, The Government of India, p. 28.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Company had not at that time succeeded in conquering the whole of India; Oudh, Sind, and the Punjab lay outside the British pale. And yet this imperfection did not deter the authors of the Bill from seeing the vision of a united India, and they boldly went forward in giving legislative shape to the project of the first Government of India in British Indian History. In Macaulay's speech, again, the people of India is always mentioned as the people of India and never, as in Sir John Strachey's, as "the peoples of India." It may be said that Macaulay's tone and speech in 1833, set the fashion of Indian administration for some years to come, and Anglo-Indian administrators, for some years, did not largely deviate from the path chalked out by the Whig Government of England in 1833. It is especially noteworthy that in the Petition which the East India Company presented to the British Parliament in February, 1858, on the eve of its abolition, the expression invariably used for referring to the inhabitants of this country is the *people of India* and never the peoples of India. It appears that the wise and enlightened policy which was inaugurated with the Government of India Act, 1833, was not abandoned by the East India Company till the day of its final extinction. Other considerations and other principles came to govern the policy of the Government of India with the direct assumption by the Crown of the responsibilities of Indian administration. The Petition of the East India Company in 1858, which was drafted by no less a person than John Stuart Mill, pointedly refers to this change of policy and expresses its apprehension that with the abolition of the Company the interests of the people of India will be subordinated to those of the people of Great Britain. The Petition shows: "That your petitioners have seen with the greatest pain the demonstrations of indiscriminate animosity towards the natives of India, on the part of our countrymen in India and at home, which have grown up since the late unhappy events. They believe these sentiments to be fundamentally unjust; they know them to be fatal to the possibility of good government in India.....That your petitioners cannot contemplate without dismay the doctrine now widely promulgated that India should be administered with an especial view to the benefit of the English who reside there.....your petitioners regard it as the most honourable characteristic of the government of India by England, that it has acknowledged no such distinction as that of a dominant

and subject race; but has held that its first duty was to the *people of India.*" [6] *(Italics mine.)*

The point that I want to make is that for at least a quarter of a century after the Government of India Act, 1833, the Whigs in England continued to show under Benthamite and Radical impulse an enlightened interest in Indian administration. They "acknowledged no such distinction as that of a dominant and subject race." Macaulay's celebrated Minute in favour of English education, 2nd February, 1835, the famous Education Despatch of 1854, and the establishment of the Universities in India in 1857, were the visible effects of this wise and benevolent policy. But all this was considerably changed with the Mutiny and the assumption of direct government by the Crown. Even "that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause" of the Act of 1833, which enacted that no native of the Indian Empire should by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion, be incapable of holding office, was whittled down by the Queen's Proclamation in 1858 by the interpolation of a qualifying phrase—"so far as may be"—which greatly diminished the chances of Indians for admissions to the highest offices under the State. From another very important consideration also, the speech of Macaulay in the House of Commons on the Government of India Bill, 1833, deserves our serious attention and careful study. No coward soul was Macaulay's, and his humanism was not afraid of Indian political and national aspirations. Dante was in literature the great passion of his life and like the Florentine poet, his mind was always swayed by considerations of compassion and sympathy. Even as early as 1833, he had a buoyant and demonstrable faith in the progress of the Indian people. He had nothing but the humanist's scorn for those who would withhold from the Indian people their birthright of opportunities, leisure, instruction, and privileges of citizens. He had realised that in India his own countrymen, belonging to the ruling nation, resembling in colour, in language, in manner, those who held supreme military and political power, and differing in all these respects from the great mass of the population, might consider themselves as a superior class, and might trample on the indigenous race. There was the ever-present danger that the Englishmen in India might constantly make themselves the master race, and

[6] Keith, Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, Vol. 1, pp. 305-06.

the Indians the subject race with rights and interests subordinated to those of the ruling race. Macaulay's fine and sensitive mind recoiled from such a development. With a view to the prevention of this evil, he proposed to give to the central government in India the power of legislating for Europeans as well as for Indians. He expressed his views with great vehemence: "Unless, therefore, we mean to leave the natives exposed to the tyranny and insolence of every profligate adventurer who may visit the East, we must place the European under the same power which legislates for the Hindoo. No man loves political freedom more than I. But a privilege enjoyed by a few individuals, in the midst of a vast population who do not enjoy it, ought not to be called freedom. It is tyranny."[7] In commenting on this part of the speech of Macaulay, one only wishes that this sage apophthegm of state had been remembered by those Englishmen who were responsible for creating the wild agitation over the Ilbert Bill during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon.

Macaulay had no nightmare about a "Lost Dominion" in India. He was fully prepared in 1833 to see India attaining her destiny as a nation. Prospects of Indian self-government had no terror for him. The concluding portion of his memorable speech may be quoted at some length: "But that, when the fullness of time is come, when the interest of India requires the change, we ought to refuse to make that change lest we should endanger our own power, this is *a doctrine of which I cannot think without indignation.* Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear. 'Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas,' is a despicable policy both in individuals and in states. In the present case, such a policy would not only be despicable, but absurd. The mere extent of empire is not necessarily an advantage. To many governments it has been cumbersome; to some it has been fatal. It will be allowed by every statesman of our time that the prosperity of a community is made up of the prosperity of those who compose the community, and that it is the most childish ambition to covet dominion which adds to no man's comfort or security.....*It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well-governed and independent of us, than ill-governed and subject to us*.....We shall never consent to administer the *pousta* (a preparation of

[7] Macaulay's Speeches (World's Classics ed.), p. 144.

opium) to a whole community, to stupify and paralyse *a great people* whom God has committed to our charge for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. What is power worth if it is founded on vice, on ignorance, and on misery; if we can hold it only by violating the most sacred duties which as governors we owe to the governed ?.....We are free, we are civilised, to little purpose if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilisation. Are we to keep *the people of India* ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive ? Or do we think that we can give knowledge without awakening ambition ? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent ?.....I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us: And it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found *a great people* sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws." [8] (*Italics mine.*)

This is the speech of a bold English statesman who recognised the unity of India, who was prepared to see the people of India finally becoming " independent " of Engalnd, and who always referred to the inhabitants of this land as the *people of India*, and never as *the peoples of India*. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858, also, is addressed to *the people of India*. The despatch which Lord

[8] Macaulay's Speeches (World's Classics ed.), pp. 153-55.

Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, sent to the Government of India on the 13th July, 1876, notifying the assumption by Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, of the title of " Empress of India," spoke of the Queen's favourable sentiments towards " the Princes and *People of India.*" (*Italics mine.*) The Parliamentary debates over the Indian Councils Bill of 1892 in referring to the inhabitants of this country always mentioned them as *The People of India.*[9] It is, I think, Edward VII's Proclamation of 2nd November, 1908, which for the first time, " greets " the Princes and people of this country, as " the Princes and *Peoples of India.*" (*Italics mine.*) One might ask if the inauguration of the famous Morley-Minto Reforms at that time had anything to do with this significant change. The change is now complete. In the Royal Proclamations and Messages to-day, *The people of India* invariably becomes *The peoples of India.* Then, again, Macaulay was prepared to view with pride the passing away of the " sceptre " from British hands, and he was ready to consider such a day as " the proudest day in English history." What a contrast to this attitude we find in the Cambridge lectures of Sir John Strachey half a century afterwards when he said : " We intend to maintain our dominion. Let there be no hypocrisy about our intention to keep in the hands of our own people those executive posts on which, and on our political and military power, our actual hold of the country depends." How different also is the outlook, about one century later, of Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, who made in the House of Lords, on July 7, 1925, the following pronouncement : " I am not able, in any foreseeable future, to discern a moment when we may safely, either to ourselves or India, abandon our trust. There is, my Lords, no ' lost Dominion,' there will be no ' lost Dominion,' until that moment, if ever it comes, when the whole British Empire, with all that it means for civilization, is splintered in doom." Further comment on the tone of this speech of Lord Birkenhead is needless.

Macaulay had an opportunity of translating his liberal and enlightened ideas into practice when he came to India in 1834 as the Law Member of Governor-General's Council. His famous and epoch-making Minute on Indian Education, February 2, 1835, was designed to promote the true national interests of the Indian people.

[9] Keith, Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, Vol. II, pp. 46-75.

It wanted to strike at the root of the old defective system of education which was merely fostering sectarian or communal interests by giving undue encouragement to Sanskrit and Arabic studies. Macaulay's ambition was to make the inhabitants of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and to this end he wanted to direct the efforts of Indian Administration. It must not be supposed that the Indians would, thereby, become denationalised, or, in any sense, less attached to their culture and civilization. On the contrary, the aim was, as Macaulay himself expresses it, "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern. . . . . To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of Science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population." [10]

This was the utterance of a great seer who was prepared to visualise with satisfaction and with a clear conscience the future greatness of India. He was convinced that the system of education which was in vogue at that time, which treated Hindus and Mussalmans as two distinctly separate communities for the purpose of education, did not tend to accelerate the progress of truth, but "delayed the natural death of expiring errors." He also realised that it would be impossible for the Government of India with limited means at their disposal at that time "to attempt to educate the body of the people." The obvious course was to form a class who would interpret the knowledge of the West which they had gathered to the millions of their countrymen. This was the origin of the much-abused "filtration theory" in the history of education in India under British rule. The theory put into operation by Macaulay, served its purpose admirably well for many years till it fell on evil days and on evil tongues, and was discarded by the Government of Lord Mayo in the seventies of the last century. We have only to say here that modern India should recognise in Thomas Babington Macaulay, one of the fathers of Indian rationalism.

Macaulay's policy of fostering English education as a means of elevating the minds of Indians bore fruit in the movement for the establishment of Universities in India within a decade. On the 25th October, 1845, the Council of Education at Calcutta, under the

[10] Macaulay's Speeches (World's Classics ed.), p. 359.

presidency of Mr. Charles Hay Cameron, prepared a plan for a University at Calcutta. A few sentences from this document may be quoted as illustrating the progress that had been made by the people of Bengal in the field of education: "The present advanced state of education in the Bengal Presidency, with the large and annually increasing number of highly educated pupils, both in public and private institutions, renders it not only expedient and advisable, but a matter of strict justice and necessity, to confer upon them some mark of distinctions, by which they may be recognised as persons of liberal education and enlightened minds, capable, from the literary and scientific training they have undergone, of entering at once upon the active duties of life; of commencing the practical pursuit of the learned professions, including in this description the business of instructing the rising generation; of holding the higher offices under Government open to natives, after due official qualification; or of taking the rank in society accorded in Europe to all members and graduates of the Universities. The only means of accomplishing this great object is by the establishment of a Central University, armed with the power of granting degrees in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine, and Civil Engineering, incorporated by a special Act of the Legislative Council of India, and endowed with the privileges enjoyed by all chartered Universities in Great Britain and Ireland.....That the time for such a measure has arrived is fully proved by the standard of excellence attained in the Senior Scholarship Examinations of the Council of Education (fully equal in extent to the Bachelor's Examination of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin), and the creditable skill and proficiency exhibited by the graduates of the Medical College, whose examinations in extent and difficulty, are much greater than those of any of the Colleges of Surgeons in Great Britain, and, in a purely professional point of view, nearly on a par with those required from the medical graduates of most British Universities."[11] The foregoing extracts are a striking testimony to Bengali intelligence and abilities which had shown such excellent results within a decade from the publication of Macaulay's famous Minute on Education. The standard of excellence attained by some Bengali Hindu scholars, for instance,

[11] Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories 1852-53), p. 618, Appendix O.

Pearycharan Sircar, Anandkissen Bose and Rajnarain Bose, in the Senior Scholarship Examination of December, 1843, was so high, that some specimens of very excellent answers written by those candidates were presented to the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories in 1852-53, as an argument for an immediate establishment of a University in Calcutta.[12] This is indeed very high praise for Bengali Hindus, but this need not cause any surprise; for Macaulay had already written in terms scarcely less flattering about the abilities of the Hindus, in his Minute on Education which has been quoted so often. Macaulay thus observes: "Indeed it is unusual to find, even in the literary circles of the Continent, any foreigner who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindus. Nobody, I suppose, will contend that English is so difficult to a Hindoo as Greek to an Englishman." [13]

When the University of Calcutta was finally established in January, 1857, it did not, however, cause universal satisfaction in the official circles in England and India. Powerful minds got alarmed; and mistaking the causes of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, they had misgivings about the success of the project of 1857, and thought that it would be prudent and expedient to retrace the steps. Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control in the Derby Ministry, sounded the tocsin of alarm, in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated 28th April, 1858, and authoritatively announced that the promised good had not been derived from the system of Indian education. Fortunately for the cause of education in India, Lord Ellenborough was compelled to resign his office of the President of the Board of Control very soon. With the arrival of Sir Charles Wood at the India Office, education in this country, and University education in particular, was delivered from the peril which threatened it.

But this deliverance was not of long duration. Within twelve or thirteen years from the foundation of the University of Calcutta, Lord Mayo, the Governor-General of India, came to view the system of University education in this country with much disfavour. The

[12] Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories (1852-53), p. 504, and also pages 585-94. It has been mentioned further in the Report that questions were not communicated to the students till they were all assembled in the examination hall, and the answers were all written without reference to books or other assistance.

[13] Macaulay's Speeches (World's Classics ed.), p. 358.

cry was raised that the system of public instruction in Bengal gave an excellent education to the opulent and upper middle classes at the cost of the State, and made scarcely any provision for the education of the masses. Even W. W. Hunter, who was for some time Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, saw nothing good in the prevailing system of education. He writes thus in his biography of Lord Mayo, published in 1876: "The State tried zealously to discharge its duty in instructing the people, and it interpreted this duty to mean a high-class education for a small section of them. . . . . The Bengali Babu, has become the recognised type of the educated native of Northern India. But the Bengal system of public instruction effected this triumph at the cost of the primary education of the masses."[14]

The cry that the system of public instruction of Bengal sacrificed the teaching of the masses to high-class education had no basis either in theory or in fact. When Macaulay wrote his Minute in favour of Western education in 1835, it was openly admitted that it would be impossible for the Government of India, "with their limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people." The obvious policy, therefore, was to impart good education and high education to a class who would play the rôle of interpreters between the Government and the people, and would do their best to spread education downwards. The basis of this policy was, of course, the "filtration" theory of education. It was hoped that the effect of this system would not be confined to the classes immediately benefited. It would filtrate downwards. And, as a matter of fact, education was rapidly filtrating downwards in Bengal and other provinces of India. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 bore eloquent testimony to this fact. Yet, in the face of this development, Lord Mayo conceived a deep dislike towards the existing system of education. Curiously enough, he thought that the cause of education in India would be best promoted if the State ceased to spend money for the education of "a few hundred Bengali Babus." It appears from a letter which Mayo wrote to a friend that the guiding consideration of Mayo's new educational policy was not so much his solicitude for the interests of the masses as his deep-seated prejudice against the "Bengali Babus." A few sentences from this very significant letter may be quoted: "I

[14] Hunter, Life of Lord Mayo, Vol. II, p. 301.

dislike this filtration theory. In Bengal we are educating in English a few hundred Babus at great expense to the State. Many of them are well able to pay for themselves, and have no other object in learning than to qualify for Government employ. In the meanwhile, we have done nothing towards extending knowledge to the million. *The Babus will never do it. The more education you give them, the more they will try to keep it to themselves, and make their increased knowledge a means of tyranny.* If you wait till the bad English, which the four hundred Babus learn in Calcutta, filters down into the 40 millions of Bengal, you will be ultimately a Silurian rock instead of a retired judge. Let the Babus learn English by all means. But let us also try to do something towards teaching the three R's to Rural Bengal."[15] (*Italics mine.*)

This is an unmerited slur on Bengali intellect and character. But the effusion need not cause surprise. From the seventies of the last century it seems to have become the deliberate policy of certain British administrators to say nothing good about Bengal and Bengali character. Mayo showed the way in 1870. In December, 1887, Sir Lepel Henry Griffin, Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, in a speech at Gwalior, made a wild attack on the Bengali race in the following terms: "One of the reasons for which I urge you, Mahrattas, to utilize the educational advantages which we offer you, is, that you may take your rightful intellectual place in India and *keep the Bengalis, who are now everywhere very active, in their proper place.* You are their superiors in ability, in strength, and in courage. They are only your superiors in noise and volubility. If they should be your leaders, it would be an army of lions commanded by grasshoppers. If you look at the history of the world, you will find that strong nations, like the English, Mahrattas, Rajpoots, and Sikhs, were never ruled by weak and unwarlike races like the Bengalis. Courage is the quality which governs the world, and the bravest people are everywhere and justly triumphant. *Do not then allow the Bengalis to deceive you with their talk about National Congresses and representative institutions. Be content with your own Mahratta nationality,* and believe me that representative institutions are as much suited to India as they are to the moon. *India is composed of many different nations,* with very little in common, and it is as foolish

[15] W. W. Hunter, Life of Lord Mayo, Vol. II, p. 303.

to hope to unite them as to join in one nation Russians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen who are more closely connected by civilization and descent than the various peoples of India. The so-called National Congress is a sham, and delegates are appointed by themselves and their friends. Hindus of position and authority will join it ; and the only Mahomedans who attend are a few obscure and notoriety-seeking persons." [16] (*Italics mine.*) In 1888, Sir John Strachey, referring to the proposal that competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service should be held in India as well as in England, wrote in his book, *India: Its Administrations and Progress,* that such a plan was highly objectionable on the ground that it would transfer certain important offices so long held by Englishmen "*to men drawn from very small class of Hindus*" from Bengal. Strachey writes: "These Hindus of Bengal, although we choose to call them Natives of India, would be, to at least 200 millions of the Indian populations, almost as much foreigners as we are ourselves. One of the inevitable consequences would be *the anger and discontent of the more intelligent of our Mohammedan subjects.*" [17] (*Italics mine.*) So the proposal for holding simultaneous competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service in India was unacceptable for the simple reason that only young men from Bengal "would have any chance of success in such examinations." [18] Such a prospect was intolerable, because, as Sir John Strachey writes, "*the thought of being governed by a Hindu foreigner from Bengal fills the Mohammedans of Northern India with indignation and contempt.*" [19] (*Italics mine.*) Further comment is needless. One might only ask if such sentiments were calculated to promote the *unity of India,* or to further the cause of the movement, *India First.* Were not ideas, such as these, likely to lead ultimately to social disintegration and to social collapse ? The nervousness of these Anglo-Indian administrators arising out of the unchallenged intellectual abilities of the Bengali Hindu Babus did not disappear in the 19th century. In 1906, Lord Minto wrote with considerable dismay to Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, that "*the Bengali editor was spreading his influence throughout India,*" [20] and

[16] Col. W. F. B. Laurie, Sketches of Some Distinguished Anglo-Indians, Second Series (W. H. Allen & Co., London, 1888), pp. 224-26.

[17] Strachey, India : Its Administration and Progress (3rd Edition), p. 498.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 499.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 498.

[20] Mary Countess of Minto, India : Minto and Morley, p. 28.

that he was thinking of " a possible *counterpoise to congress aims.*" (*Italics mine.*)

The question may now be very well asked if Lord Mayo, true to the tradition of an Irish Protestant, was not thinking of a possible counterpoise to the influence of the Bengali Babus in the seventies of the last century. His furious indictment against the system of University education in Bengal does not appear to be intelligible on any other ground. The education of the masses was as neglected a question then, as it is now. The raising of the question in the form in which it was done by Mayo, only served to cloud the issue and did a disservice to the cause of national education in this country. The cleavage that was created in Indian society by Mayo's insistence that the interests of the masses were quite distinct from those of the higher classes, is causing anxiety even now, and it is rendering all chances of national education very difficult indeed. The case against the unwisdom of Mayo's policy was stated, in terms no one can better, by a Senior Member of the Indian Civil Service in a letter to Lionel Curtis in July, 1917. He writes as follows: " In educational matters we have been misled by the European analogy. We have said it is the business of government to look after primary education: The people must make arrangement for higher education as they do in other countries. In view of the condition of the country (India) this was an unwise position. *Primary education is relatively unimportant, but we must have the best higher education, the other will follow.* In this country everything has always been done by the government, and it is no good telling the people, poorly educated as they are, that if they want higher education they must arrange for it. That is what government did in Bengal, with the most fatal results." (*Italics mine*, Curtis, Dyarchy, p. 174.)

Another point of Lord Mayo's educational policy was destined to strike at the root of growing Indian nationalism. The system that was inaugurated in 1835 was bearing fruit. Its result would be the establishment of an India-wide rising level of common education. But Lord Mayo found " that the Muhammadans of Bengal were intensely dissatisfied with this state of things, and that their discontent assumed in Bengal the form of active disaffection." [21] A

[21] W. W. Hunter, Life of Mayo, Vol. II, p. 306.

remedy had to be discovered for this state of things, and Lord Mayo very soon discovered that the system of education, founded on a basis co-extensive with the educational requirements of the whole people, was at fault. He thought that the system of common education which had so long been pursued with steadfast zeal was unsuited to the Muhammadans. Lord Mayo's personal summing up of the situation in his own words is as follows :—" There is no doubt, that as regards the Muhammadan population, our present system of education is, to a great extent, a failure. We have not only failed to attract the sympathies and confidence of a large and an important section of the community, but we have reason to fear that we have caused positive disaffection." [22] Mayo was determined to remove the cause of this " postive disaffection" of what he calls " the most powerful race in India." [23] His solution of the problem lay in a number of contrivances. One such contrivance was that " a Muhammadan would not come to a Hindu school to be taught by a Hindu teacher." [24] Another was that the Government " must therefore give way somewhat to the national prejudices of the Muhammadans, and allow to Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, a more prominent place in many of the Government schools and examination tests." [25] In this way, Mayo thought, the Muhammadans would get " a more equal chance of filling those lucrative positions which are now almost monopolized by Hindus." [26]

It is clear that this Memorandum of Lord Mayo was governed by considerations of administrative exigency. The Memorandum is not an educational document ; on the other hand, it is a political document inspired by considerations other than academic. The avowed object of Lord Mayo was to cure the " positive disaffection " of the Muhammadans by " giving way somewhat to their national prejudices." Thus with Mayo, education in India was his politics, and not his policy. A famous thinker once observed : "The weaknesses of democracy are the opportunities of education." Similarly in India, the weaknesses and prejudices of the Indian people were the opportunities of a sound liberal education. The wisdom of this maxim was realised by Macaulay in 1835 ; but in the administration

[22] W. W. Hunter, Life of Mayo, Vol. II p. 307.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 308.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 308.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 308.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 309.

of India by Lord Mayo, this principle was discarded, and a totally different policy was followed in educational affairs—the policy of "giving way somewhat to the national prejudices" of a section of the Indian people. And this "giving way" again, was not inspired by educational considerations, but was dictated by political expediency. Mayo's ideas took shape in the Resolution of the Government of India, dated 7th August, 1871, on Muhammadan Education. This Resolution is an important document, being the first of a series of measures adopted by the Government for the encouragement of separate education among the Muhammadans. The history of separate denominational education in British India may be said to date from this Resolution. The Resolution may be studied in full in Syed Mahmood's *History of English Education in India*, pp. 148-49. We can, only from the nationalist point of view, take exception to two important suggestions of the Government of India in this Resolution. The Resolution said: (1) "As in vernacular schools so in this class also (English schools), assistance might justly be given to Muhammadans by grants-in-aid *to create schools of their own.* (2) Greater encouragement should also be given to *the creation of a vernacular literature for the Muhammadans*—a measure the importance of which was specially urged upon the Government of India by Her Majesty's Secretary of State on more than one occasion."[27] (*Italics mine.*)

This was to invite the danger of "the fractioning of education" against which Professor Ernest Barker impressively warned us in his Address to the Council of the Institute of Christian Education in December, 1938.[28] Such fractioning of education encouraged the movement of disruptive forces at work and made the chances of educational socialism in this country very difficult of realisation. But Lord Mayo was not concerned with the possibilities of educational socialism. What he primarily thought was that "a resolution of this kind would be justified by the circumstances of the case, and would have an excellent effect on the feelings of the Muhammadan population at this moment."[29] Mayo's biographer, Hunter, tells us that the educational reforms of Mayo had their desired effect. These reforms, we are told, were "hailed as a boon by the Mussalman population. The

[27] Syed Mahmood, History of English Education in India, p. 149
[28] Contemporary Review, January, 1941, p 48.
[29] W. W. Hunter, Life of Mayo, Vol. II, pp. 310-11.

Muhammadan petition and complaint have ceased to be a constantly recurring difficulty in the administration of Bengal, and *Muhammadan disaffection has at the same time dropped out of the cognizance alike of our armies and our courts.*"[30] Hunter, who was for some years the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, adopted an excellent criterion indeed for judging the results of the educational reforms of Lord Mayo in this country ! He was seeking to evaluate the so-called educational measures of Mayo not by the progress of general education among the people but by the disappearance of "Muhammadan disaffection." The prospects of liberal national education in India had become dark indeed. The chances of educational socialism were doomed. The destiny of Mayo's measures, as it turned out, was to commit the country to denominationalism piecemeal.

And yet when Lord Mayo and W. W. Hunter were busily engaged in the task of fractioning education and giving education a denominational turn in India, Professor Thomas Hill Green in England was preaching the urgent necessity of a system of comprehensive and all-embracing national education. Green, impelled by his idealism, was looking forward to an ultimate "reconstitution of society through that of education," and he felt that, through well-planned education, it would be possible to effect a considerable change in the tone of society and to remove many of its barriers. His vision saw a "ladder of learning which should reach from the gutter to the Universities,"[31] and this learning would bring about a fusion of men, most variously born and circumstanced, in one human society. The need of the hour was the removal of class impediments and laying the same foundation for all alike in a system of comprehensive national education. This would ensure "not only a thoroughly educated but a socially united people."[32] But in India the result of Mayo's policy has been that the denominational system has struck its roots too deep and wide to be displaced. It has fostered the spirit of social exclusiveness and has amply recognised the strictest social demarcations between the Hindus and the Musalmans. A common education, which is the only means of removing jealousies and social separations prevalent within the people of a country, was not given a fair trial in India. "Common education," says Green, "is the true social

30 W. W. Hunter, Life of Mayo, Vol. II, p. 311.
31 Works of T. H. Green, Vol. III, p. 387.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 456.

leveller. Men and women who have been at school together, or who have been at schools of the same sort, will always understand each other, will always be at their ease together, will be free from social jealousies and animosities however different their circumstances in life may be."[33] These are true and wise words. How much one does wish that these words were remembered by British administrators of the days of Lord Mayo, and how much one does wish that they were studied and pondered over by our responsible ministers and civil servants to-day. The ambition of Thomas Hill Green in the seventies of the last century was the promotion of a national system of education, and almost his last public utterance before his death in 1882 was the expression of a hope that the time would come "when the phrase 'education of a gentleman' will have lost its meaning, because the sort of education which alone makes the gentleman in any true sense will be within the reach of all As it was the aspiration of Moses that all the Lord's people should be prophets, so with all seriousness and reverence we may hope and pray for a condition of English society in which all honest citizens will recognise themselves and be recognised by each other as gentlemen."[34] This is national education properly so called, and this is educational socialism. We can now understand how the prospects for such an education in India were retarded by the educational policy which was introduced by Lord Mayo. The evils of that policy are still rampant, and they are the greatest hindrances to good citizenship and the development of national solidarity in this land.

The dangers inherent in Mayo's system of denominational education became evident in a few years. In February, 1882, a Memorial was addressed to Lord Ripon, the Governor-General, by the National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta, calling attention to the decayed position of Muhammadans of India, to the causes which had, in the opinion of the Memorialists, led to this decadence, and to the remedies which might improve that condition. The Memorial was discussed by the Education Commission of 1882 and by the Government of India in its Resolution on the 15th July, 1885. Some of the demands of the National Muhammadan Association

[33] Works of T. H. Green, Vol. III, pp. 457-58.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 475-76.

were fantastic and far too extravagant. These demands were summarily rejected by the Government of India. This attitude of the Government of India is not condemned, but is, on the other hand, highly praised by Syed Mahmood in his *History of English Education in India*. He says: "There are some passages in the Resolution of the Government of India which deserve to be permanently preserved and remembered by the Muhammadan community. Firstly, as giving them a sound and statesmanly warning, and secondly, as conveying the sympathy which the Government of India has deigned to express towards the Muhammadans of India, respecting their future educational and other prospects and welfare."[35]

In regard to the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882, for special encouragement of Muhammadan Education, the Government of India, in its Resolution, rose to statesmanly heights and made the following general observations, which were not calculated to encourage the demands of the Memorialists. This part of the Resolution is as follows: "*It is only by frankly placing themselves in line with the Hindus*, and taking full advantage of the Government system of high and especially of English Education, that the Muhammadans can hope fairly to hold their own in respect of the better description of State appointments.....Care must be taken to avoid unnecessary widening of the line between Muhammadan and other classes of the community. The Governor-General in Council does not consider it desirable, or for the advantage of the Muhammadans themselves, that they should be exempted from those tests which are established to secure the admission of duly qualified candidates into the public service. *Nor can special favour be shown them in open competitive examinations of any description.* It is only by raising their own educational qualifications, to the level already attained by other races, that the Muhammadans can hope to win appointments that are awarded as the result of examination. .....It is the earnest desire of the Supreme Government to treat all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India with absolute impartiality, and see all alike benefiting by the protection, the patronage, and the assistance of the State."[36] (*Italics mine.*) These were wise, statesmanlike, and courageous utterances, and we might only hope

[35] Syed Mahmood, History of English Education, p. 174.
[36] Quoted in Syed Mahmood's History of English Education in India, pp. 174-75.

that the Government of India did not subsequently deviate from this Resolution. We would also expect that the principles of this Resolution were remembered by Ramsay Macdonald in 1932 when he gave his notorious Communal Award, and by the Government of India itself when it formulated another Resolution of far-reaching importance on the 4th July, 1934—a Resolution which has been rightly called the second Communal Award in the history of British administration in India—a Resolution which specifically recognised the extravagant and indefensible claims of the different minorities to important posts in the public services of India on communal grounds by brushing aside the considerations which dictated the Resolution of the 15th July, 1885. Thus the principles which were laid down by the Government of India in 1885, in regard to the recruitment in the public services from certain considerations, were undermined by the same Government in 1934 from different considerations. And the result has been the sabotage of the principle of national efficiency and national solidarity. The process has just begun; the final results are on the knees of the gods. A new era in the history of Indian Nationalism was opened with the meeting of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in December, 1885. Of this we propose to speak in our next essay.

(To be continued)

FORCES IN MODERN PANJABI POETRY

PROF. CHARANJIT SINGH BINDRA, M.A., LL.B.

A decade and a half back we had the first glimpse of a possible golden age for Panjabi poetry. That was immediately after the great *morchas*, the civil disobedience at Jaito and other places during the Akali movement. In the general excitement of this religio-political struggle the creative energies of the people were also whipped up into a state of productivity. As a result of it we had a bumper crop of poets, poetasters, rhymers and versifiers; but some of them did possess real talent.

The older generation had already produced some towering personalities. Prof. Pūran Singh, who died in 1931, had been universally acclaimed as the harbinger of a new era in Panjabi poetry. Having been influenced greatly by the thought of Emerson and the art of Post-Victorian poets, he diverted the drift of Panjabi verse away from Classical traditionalism. As a matter of fact Panjabi poetry from its very inception has been Romantic in spirit, though every now and then there have been attempts towards traditionalism. The Panjabis are a liberty-loving people, averse to the fetters of traditionalism ; and so is their poetry. Consequently the attempt of Prof. Pūran Singh to introduce the leaven of English Romanticism into his own poetry was not only a success, but it considerably influenced even the work of his great contemporary, Bhāī Vīr Siṅgh, as well as that of all the younger poets. Though the older writers had started with an inclination for classical tendencies, they did not take long to cast away even the last traces thereof, and wading through Prof. Pūran Singh's romanticism, caught up with the tide of the new spirit. Therein was the promise of a golden age.

The poetry of Bhāī Vīr Siṅgh, Kirpā Sāgar, Sharaf and Dhanī Rām Chātrik, bears evident traces of maturity of thought and diction, but there is also prominent the exuberant buoyancy and freshness of the first emotions. The following one line poem of Bhāī Vīr Siṅgh represents characteristically their feeling of joy in the very fact of being alive ; but marked with the ever-present lining of doubt and

apprehension of the unknown, which is inevitable to all maturer experience:

Miṭhe ṭān lagde menū phulāṇ de hulāre
Jān merī par khusdī

Sweet to me is the wafting of clusters of flowers,
But the soul of me does tremble.

Kirpā Sāgar is not with us today. He joined the majority more than a year ago. Sharaf has quitted the garden of poesy for other avenues. Therefore next to Bhāī Vīr Siṅgh, the only voice from the older generation that is still heard is that of Chātrik. Hīrā Siṅgh Dard, Gurmukh Singh Musāfir and Dr. Mohan Siṅgh Dīwāna having betaken themselves with other literary activities. Much of Chātrik's work lies buried in *Chandan-Wāṛī* and *Kesar-Kiārī*, but the most popular of his poetry comes out in his *Dohirās* and *Bolīs*, short cryptic syllogisms such as:

Pallā mār ke bhujā gaī dīvā,
Muṛ ke merī jót na jagī.

The flame, she put it out with the wave of her veil:
Never could it be lit up again.

Indeed, he is at his best when he depicts the love emotion as in his lyric, " Nî merī Hīre Saleṭīe, Raje dī beṭīe."

Coming back to Bhāī Vīr Siṅgh, who has created the largest group of personal admirers, though he exercises no avowed influence on the younger poets, we find that the free movement of his thought he owes to his close contact with Prof. Pūran Singh: so also his love for nature, which he developed as he advanced in years. Whenever nature description takes a hold on him, his poetry begins to throb with full-blooded vivacity. The most popular of his poems are the light-hearted ones with a piquant turn of thought, bringing man, nature and God closer together: the whole picture being touched up with deep stirring emotion as in the songs of *Kambdī Kalāī*, particularly the *Godāwri* song. It is this fine emotional lyricism, typical of the English Romantics, that characterises the modern Panjabi poetry. Both the old and the young have inherited it through the towering personality in Panjabi poetry of Prof. Pūran Singh.

If the older poets have a failing for didacticism born of metaphysic propensities, the younger people are no less vulnerable to the temptations of cheap popularity through political propaganda. Only Prof. Mohan Singh Mahir has managed to keep clear long enough of this pitfall to produce some first rate poetry. The best of his poetry too lies not in his poem, *Kashmir*, the only long one he has written, but in his shorter pieces of the type of *Mahia* and *Dholas* such as:

Kade ḍhok sāḍi dār achh ḍhola
Odre kass jithe galān nī kītiā
Odre rakkh jithe laiān nī prītiā
Nale meṇ gaī ódar vakh ḍhola.

Come sometime to our hamlet, O Love,
Awaiting are the rivulets by whose banks we talked,
Awaiting are the arbours that witnessed our love,
And in addition I am pining for you, O Love.

His lyrical talent has produced some really fine poetry pregnant with sweet, evanescent emotion as in:

Kihā nikā nikā rehnda sarūr
Nāhī puriān hoshān menū
Nah me naṣhe vich chūr

Nāhi sajan menū buhioṇ uṭhāve
Nāhi sajan menū gal nāḷ lāve
Nah meṇ rad nah me manzūr.

Manzal ishk de dendī jhakāve
Kal āve jā kade na āve
Eh nah neṛe nah dūr.

I have the faintness of inebriation;
I am not in my full senses,
Nor am I completely drunk.

My love does not dismiss me from her door,
Nor does she take me to her bosom:
I am neither rejected, nor accepted.

Attainment of love plays will-o-the wisp with me,
I may attain it tomorrow. I may attain it never.
It's neither distant nor to hand.

Among the other young composers who are on the fair road to success are Amrit Kaur Amrit, Īshar Siṅgh Īshar, Prītam Singh Safīr, Baljit Kaur Bal, Tārā Siṅgh Tārā, Darshan Siṅgh Avārah, Dr. Dīwān Siṅgh Kalepani and Harīndar Singn Bekāl. Most of them are trying to write poetry with a set purpose. Amrit Kaur, through her magazine, *Navīṇ Duṇiā*,[1] comes out boldly to create a new world order of her own as envisaged in her song, "Ve loko menū roko nah, huṇ man āeān karan krān deo." But it remains a pure lyricism in revolt against the conventionalities of society. So is Baljit Kaur's escapism which finds its expression in her popular lyric:

Chal ve sajan asie doveṇ ral mile dunia navīṇ vasā leīe
Bābar vār kite dur durere pre prere jā rehīe.

Come Love, let's two set up a world of our own
Out away, somewhere far away, farther away let's go.

That again is lyricism, pure and simple.

A coterie of younger writers, however, and even Prof. Mohan Siṅgh in the latest of his compositions published in *Panj Daryā*, along with his disciple Harīndar Siṅgh, are trying to introduce the sophist element into their poetry. Prītam Siṅgh and the professor with their higher University education might make a success of it, but the whole lot of them have yet to prove their mastery over this type of poetry. The art of moralising is the besetting sin of many but the radiant virtue of few. If the experiment is successful, they will be opening up a new avenue of metaphysical poetry in Panjabi. Here is a verse typical of this school, from Harīndar Singh's *Navīṇ Pandh*:

Vehnde jande vehṇ, badal vassi ja rahe,
Hare nah hoṅde khett, hai bin tadbīr de.

Rivers flow on, clouds may pour,
Fields will never be green without effort.

And from Tara Singh we have:

Eveṇ ṭuṭ gaī ṭuṭ gaī akkhde o—
Eh koi dhage dī tand sī, jo ṭuṭ jandī!

Wrongly they say it has snapped,
Our love is not a strand of thread that it could snap.

[1] The publication of this magazine has now been suspended.

On the other hand, Ishar Singh has already planted himself firmly in a different avenue. His popular character " Bhaiā," with a number of humorous poems spun round that character, has caught the public fancy. But most of the rest have still to prove their mettle. Those who have taken to propaganda through metrical composition, must put forth some original thought before they can establish a reputation.

Thus in modern Panjabi poetry, whereas Bhāi Vīr Singh continues to be the link with all that is best in the old, Prof. Mohan Singh and the other younger writers may bring forth an efflorescence of the new, that is, if they do not fall under the enervating influence of post-War English poetry.

AN ESSAY IN THE LOGIC OF AESTHETICS

TERENCE WHITE

AESTHETICS is the philosophy of beauty and significance, as they exist, concentrated in art, and apparent throughout the universe.

This essay will therefore treat, not only of art, but finally of the aesthetics of human and non-human life in general. Beauty will not be treated as a separate subject of classification; instead, like one of its own apparitions, it will arise in the discussion of other topics,—like an unexaggerated 'cello-*crescendo* which points the suavely basic into momentary explicit emphasis.

Definitions of beauty are seldom satisfactory; they are perhaps least unsatisfactory when expressed in terms of *relationships* For instance, Vernon Lee's remark that "the word beautiful implies the satisfaction derived from the contemplation not of things but of aspects" contains a definite truth, but it could be strengthened as follows: "the word beautiful implies the satisfaction derived from the contemplation of things as aspects and of aspects as things." Here we have already come upon one salient characteristic of aesthetic organisms,—the tendency to interchangings within, and also between, different planes and modes in the organism.

This tendency, like most other aesthetic tendencies, is prominent especially in art. For art is a close-up, and a professionalization, of universal aesthetic characteristics. In art "the function of being a means is not divorced from the function of being an end" (as Whitehead exclaims, in another context). Art is a display, a virtuosity: hence the element of "splendour" to be found in definitions of it, —"Splendor Veri" (the Platonists)' "Splendor Ordinis" (Augustine), "Splendor Formae" (Aquinas). For the opposite reason, the aesthetics of Nature are apt to be less clear and less extended than those of art.[1]

A valid aesthetics cannot confine itself to any single metaphysical system, and yet it is not to be dissociated from metaphysical thought.

[1] Mr. E. F. Carritt even, in his highly balanced and stimulating book—*The Theory of Beauty*, while deploring the exclusion of Nature from aesthetic discussion, devotes much more attention in the ensuing chapters to the beauty of art.

Perhaps if stands midway between metaphysics, precise and general, and psychology, particularising and largely introspective. Nevertheless, since metaphysics and logic are sciences which cover all being, it is not too unnatural that aesthetics should have some special patterns and tentative systems to suggest for their perusal.

I suggest that the following five notions are typical contributions which aesthetics might make to logic and metaphysics:—

(A) What Whitehead in his maximum opus, gives as the third of his four "grounds of Order": "(that) the heightening of intensity arises from order such that the multiplicity of components in the nexus can enter explicit feeling as *contrasts*, and are not dismissed into negative prehensions as *incompatibilities*." [1] This is a good example of one salient facet of the aesthetic process.

(B) A pattern of what might be termed the "equivalence of ends," by which the same process can be read in two ways, as:

$$---a_1 \rightarrow b_1 \rightarrow a_2 \rightarrow b_2 \rightarrow a_3---$$

or as

$$---b_1 \rightarrow a_1 \rightarrow b_2 \rightarrow a_2 \rightarrow b_3---$$

For instance, it is impossible to state whether the ultimate result of the artistic process is variety out of simplicity, or simplicity out of variety; whether it is—to take a random example—a making precise of emotion, or an emotionalising of precision. Examples of this notion can be found with some ease in every branch or aspect of aesthetic life. And it is an idea to which many ideas in Indian philosophy would seem to bear affinity.

(C) Patterns concerned with selectivity with compensation and with circularity.

(D) Patterns dealing with Display, with the importance of presentation and virtuosity.

(E) Patterns of Imitation, and of Wheels within wheels.

Let us examine these last three types of pattern in greater detail:—

Selectivity-Compensation-Circularity

Amongst other characteristics, art evinces the *Selections* of ideas and materials and objects, to a greater extent than is found in science,

[1] *Process and Reality*, p. 115.

philosophy, or religion. In art, all-inclusiveness, absolutes, numerable totalities of data, are not essential. It would seem that, for the artist, reality is comprehended (and even possessed), not by cumulative means, and not as if it consisted in a long straight line ; but as if it were concerned rather with balance, with rebound and reflection, with a world where a deficiency in quantity might reveal or invite a superiority in quality, where the lack of cumulative sweat might induce the serenity which is a mark of the greatest of all wholes, thus acting by a short cut: a world in which he who loses the whole through mere suggestiveness shall save it as by a rebound, a magnetic adding-up of contraries.

Now, in some cases this selection remains simply in the form of the items selected. In other cases, it circles round so as to give an effect of abundance, of totality even. This is often achieved by the intensity and abundance and sense of totality in the selection itself, which then become confused or identified with the similar qualities in the field of the original whole. Similarly, " the idealisation produced by selection can, by reason of its inherent magnetism, turn back and around and reinforce clarity, emphasis, and idealisation on to the sacrificed individuality of the original unselected points themselves: This is the Charity of selectiveness." [1]

The concept of selection, in relation to external values, may be extended into the sphere of art as a whole, as well as that of an individual work of art: as, for example, in Keyserling's judgment that " the values which aesthetics claim for all art belong in fact only to the highest art."

Again: Charles Maurron has said,[2] " Everything is not combination—far from it—even in the work of the most intellectual artists." In other words, why should *this* phrase of Mozart's succeed *that* one ? And is there not an element of chance in the fact that this *note* succeeds that, *within* a single phrase ? Clearly, this mosaic-method can be pursued until an entire opera or epic seems the work of chance: and artists instinctively indicate what *unit* of expression or thought they have *selected* as a basis for form, or for chance ; although delightful psychological arabesques may arise when this indication is left partly vague, with the resultant slight tensions and indecision.[3]

[1] *Tentative Universe*, Ch. 3, by Terence White.
[2] Aesthetics and Psychology (trans.), p. 87.
[3] See below in the section on " Imitation " for an expansion of this notion.

Chinese art is renowned for its selections its empty spaces ; and yet these seem far more positive than they would if filled with unessential pattern : one is reminded of the closing sentence from Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico—Philosophicus* : "Woven man nichts sprechen kann, daruber muss man schweigen." And this motto might be applied to all spheres of aesthetic practice,—to the possible superiority of "pure f' ballet over mine, to the dangers in the excessive material present in the art of film, to take two quite random examples.

In frequent harness with selectivity are compensations and circularities (though these sometimes may appear cumulative, rather than selective). Let us take one first example out of myriad possible ones :—

Suppose that we are appreciating a work of great complexity, suggestiveness, and subtle treatment, we collect a variety of favourable impressions; suppose that we then come to a point in the work itself where clarity (consisting of expansion, or tightening, or many other factors) is demanded. But now take the case when this clarity, which must be a wielder-tegether of the objects from which we have gained our impressions (and of those impressions themselves), *does not* come about,—then what happens ? Simply that the weight of the total appreciative tension derived expectantly from our gathering of the impressions turns itself over at once to the other side, and destroys as it were, its own previous self.

And here is a more complex instance: let us consider the acts of return, the suggestions. the tensions into simplicity, by which Classicism is revealed as the expression of an individual soul.

For instance: an individual's desire to pierce through selectivity into "fulness" may merge into the selectivity of an actual classical work of art, and then return as the individual's whole relevant desire (not merely his desire for selectivity). As this "return" involves an element of time, the relation of this process to music, the time -art *par excellence,* is a remarkable one : the details of musical form are to some extent a saga of the relations between the "returned" version of a passage or note and its objective successor ("unreturned," probably), and the problem as to whether these can or do compensate for, or else reinforce each other, according to particular contexts.

[1] "Whereof one can say nothing one should keep silence"

A further quality in classical art is that by which the restfulness of established basic forms may serve to give greater clarity to individual points in the texture. Thus arises an incentive for the artist to make these individual points the expression of his specific individuality.

These individual points may be points of repose, or points of sudden gesture, the latter compensating by their concentration and vividness for the lack of such qualities in the former, which they may even express as well as expressing themselves. On the other hand, the points of repose may assist the points of gesture in two chief ways: by providing tension and the possibility of a *crescendo*, and by the universalising and idealising effect which their serenity may create. In that case, they will influence the gesture points as fully as they have been nfluenced by them. Still further, a tension may arise between the mutual assisting influence of the two types and their real separation on a more obvious level. All these examples may be regarded about equally as illustrating either selectivity or compensation.

As three further instances of compensation, we may give the following:

(*a*) Kant defined the appreciation of beauty as "a pleasure universally communicable, yet independent of concepts." Consider, them, the tensions and the circular processes involved when either: (*i*) this "independence of concepts" is itself made a concept, as in works made to the order of the abnormal formation "art for art's sake"; or (*ii*) any concept is introduced into the very texture of a work of art, while the general "independence of concepts" is admitted, though in a variety of possible degrees.

Into this category come the problems of "programme music," of the legitimacy of various degree: of "representation" in painting and sculpture, and of didactic purpose in literature or painting.

(*b*) The compensation between the purity and calm of (say) Flaubert's style, and the unbalanced nature of his life and of his efforts to force that style. Conversely, the art might be neurotic and the artist placid.[1]

(*c*) The circularity, the lucky journey safe back bone, shown in "Ars est celare artem." To speak, for the moment, in logical rather

[1] *Cf.*: Santayana, preface to Spinoza's *Ethics* (Everyman edition) "...yet what makes for righteousness, the conditions of successful living, need not be moral in a personal sense, any more than the conditions of a flame need be themselves on fire."

than aesthetic terms, the process of " Ars est celare artem " enables —in the case of the change of an accident into a substance or *vice versa* (for in art the last shall be first, and the mighty pulled down)— (*i*) the act of change not to appear as a change, while (*ii*) the changed entity does, or (*iii*) does not, appear changed; or again, (*iv*) the two conditions (*i*) and (*ii*) may be true together, or (*v*) the two conditions (*ii*) and the contradictory of (*i*) may be true together, or finally, (*vi*) this contradictory of (*i*) may be true together with (*iii*).[2]

(II) Art displays; art is not art if it is not a success. And such is the infection of this facet of art, that even theories of art fall victims, to it and display too loudly, personifying what are merely partial limbs of truth. Thus, both the dogma of "Art for art's sake" and, at the other extreme, Tolstoy's obsession with the "universal" and "moral" and "communicable" character of art (so that the Russian peasant is the supreme *arbiter elegantiarum*), are merely exaggerations, hypostatisations as it were, of quite legitimate aspects of aesthetic truth.

Perhaps one could elucidate Tolstoy's theory further by characterising it in two somewhat paradoxical relationships to Croce's famous identification of Art with Intuition with Expression: first, one might hold that the relation between the two theories was that between Potency and Act, Tolstoy's identification of art and communication being a clumsy and thus tentative clutch at Croce's doctrine; and secondly, one might criticise Tolstoy's excessive identification of art, immorality, etc., as an exaggeration, a parody perhaps, of Croce's more relevant theses.[1] In either case, whether it be parody, or the raising of a potency to the dignity of an act, we have here a curious display of Display.

And a typically aesthetic display: for not only does art equate (what elsewhere would be) potencies and acts; she even infuses positively into the negative display into what seems to be the very displayless desert. One has only to observe the effects of spacing in Chinese pictures, mentioned above in connection with Selectivity, to realise the force of this.

[2] *Cf.* What is said below, in the section on " Display," as to the aesthetic change of negative into positives.

[1] Of course it would also be possible to argue that Croce's union of expression and intuition is the product mainly of the psychological union between his own embryonic intention in framing this theory and the actual act of intending, and its nature.

Some of the problems of normal positive display are of the following type: consider, in executant art, the degrees of legitimate emphasising of the obvious ; of deliberate personal revelation outside the obvious ; of the possibility that such a revelation was intended potentially in the nature of what seems obvious ; of the degrees of what composer, author, performer, actor and audience must severally take for granted ; finally, one must examine the relation of all these questions to requisites such as tension, selection as against accumulation, or the claims of under-statement, negative display, and surprise. A further detachment of this problem is concerned with the artistic medley itself (in this case, let us consider the executant medium, though the purely creative has its own problems): as, for instance, when an effect of absolute abstraction (in Bach or slow Beethoven, perhaps) is attainable on the piano best by rigid hankering after the "impartial" tone of the organ, because the slight tension between this effort and the nature of piano-touch will give the effort life ; while the same mood on the organ is often achieved best through an aptly-placed apparent breaking of the "impartial" mood, which act *displays* what would otherwise be heard as a sheer mechanical quality of the medium.

III. *Imitation.* From Plato onwards and Aristotle downwards aestheticians have emphasised the place of Imitation in Art. And indeed it is an important element, but not alone in the ways that it has usually been conceived. The aesthetic fact and process of imitation are themselves an imitation of the harmony (which must include a sense of universal kinship) between, every element in a work of art.[1] For imitation is not itself harmony, but the child of harmony by display. The factor of display in art we have just examined ; it remains to consider the pattern of imitation, or wheels within wheels: for, even if art is not, as Plato called it, an "imitation of an imitation," it at least contains and evinces imitations of imitations, sometimes in an almost infinite regress.

Let us draw six examples of imitation at random from varied spheres of aesthetic life:—

(*i*) Ruskin's thick-pointed aphorism that "—as perfect finish belongs to the perfected art, a progressive finish belongs to progressive art,"[2] shows us imitation in the form of parallelism.

[1] *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, Ch. V, p. 282.
[2] *Cf.* : the huge and complex discussions on *Analogy* in Medieval European philosophy.

(*ii*) Our discussion, in "selectivity" above, based on Maorron, about the placing of chance and form in a work of art, attains further begetting and refinement if applied to the deliberate planned effects of vague chance found in many Impressonist paintings, or to Debussy's coquetting, Siamese twins of conscious mist and conscious Gallic precision.

(*iii*) Kant's discussion between "pure" and "adherent" or "conditioned" beauty, however inadequate as a primary law, can with interest be carried down into the molecular spheres of the relationships between the different elements in verbal sound, and in verbal sense, regarded as fodder for poetry.

(*iv*) In a sense executant art, in music or on the stage, is an imitation of the creative form of the same art. And yet this quality between creative and executant art is imitated, on a different scale, within other arts: for instance, in architecture as between design and execution (though here the fixedness of the result necessitates a narrower sphere of difference between the two than in the time-arts, where the number of possible modes of execution are legion).[1] A less important type of imitation, because more mechanical, may be found in the relation between creating and casting a work of sculpture; on a more complex level than this is the relation between painting and an artistic photographic reproduction of it. Yet another type of relation is that between a painting and an original, artistic photograph of the same subject: in this case, although the contest lies between two separate arts, yet there persists still an element of the creative-executant relationship.[2]

(*v*) Within each separate fine art, moreover, there exist a pair of levels, which we may call the Substantival and the Adjectival respectively. When we combine the substantival level of one art with the adjectival level of another, we may attain aesthetic units such as: "the poetical element in music," "the picturesque element in poetry," "the architectural aspect of ballet," "the dramatic aspect of sculpture," and so on. From the above we may derive: "the element in poetry corresponding to the picturesque element in music," "the

[1] *Cf.*: the medieval distinction of *Actus Primus* and *Actus Seculus*.

[2] It is worth speculating on the exact difference between two relationships: that of a book to a play to a film, each of which is based on its predecessor in the triad; and that of a book to a play, and to a film, which have been created independently of each other, but based on the same subject.

aspect of ballet corresponding to the architectural aspect of sculpture,,' and so on.

(*vi*) Still greater varieties of level and interchange may be seen in the problem of the following type:—Consider the "Religious elements within, or in relation to," art. Here is some indication of the possible richness of gradation:—

(A) art used consciously in the service of religion
- (*a*) as a mere assistant in ritual;
- (*b*) by reason of its "art-ness" itself;
- (*c*) as the servant of a religion without ritual;

(B) (corresponding uses of religion) religion used consciously in the service of art,
- (*d*) as, *e.g.*, a mere "subject" for a picture, or theprovider of a libretto or title;
- (*e*) by reason of its very "religious-ness" which can serve a useful artistic purpose;
- (*f*) as the inspirer (possibly subconscious) of the artist, before any particular work of art has taken shape;

(C) The division of all the above, (*a*)-(*f*), into further sections according to the *aspect* of religion chiefly involved, *e.g.*:—
- (*g*) a dogmatic system;
- (*h*) a single dogma;
- (*i*) a mythological idea uncrystallised into dogma;
- (*j*) a piece of ritual;
- (*k*) The suggestiveness caused by reference to either (*i*) a distant religion, or (*ii*) an aspect of religion which (like many of our oaths) has lost its literal religious significance, but which can resurrect it in a plastic manner and or context;
- (*l*) The nearness of the religion concerned to those for whom primarily the work of art in question is intended;
- (*m*) The possibility of introducing religion by purely moral or moralistic concepts, or of introducing morality or moralism by means of religious concepts;
- (*n*) The relation of the artistic element in religion, *e.g.* in (*a*) ritual, and (*b*) a holy scripture,—to art.

With religion we have arrived at the non-artistic aesthetic universe any survey of which (that is, ot life itself in its aesthetic aspects),

must of necessity be even more tentative than the descriptions we have just given of art.

For, in life, such elements as are capable of being considered aesthetic or of being components of an aesthetic unit, are seldom gathered together into such concentrated communities of context as are found in works of art ; moreover they lack the specialised (and to that extent definite) quality of art, and thus depend more for their recognition and indeed their very existence, on personal experience and particular opinion.

A kindred event arises in making parallels between the aesthetics of Life and the aesthetics of Art (in fact this is one of the most frequent means used to determine the former.) For, when we talk of " the art of life," we must be selecting a unit in life to be " artistic," and that one may take as basis for ' art " any one of several elements of art, several artistic processes And from this fact much confusion has arisen.

The following is a list of some of these elements or processes that are possible synonyms (in practice) for " art " :—

(*i*) The conceiving of a work of art ;
(*ii*) The process of creating a work of art ;
(*iii*) The resulting, completed, work of art ;
(*iv*) Art as a moment of a single selection ;
(*v*) Art as a process of selection ;
(*vi*) Art as taken in relation to science, *i.e.*, emphasising art's " religious " side ;
(*vii*) In relation to religion, *i.e.*, emphasising its " scientific " side ;
(*viii*) Form as contrasted with content ;
(*ix*) Form (*i*) as equivalent to Form (*ii*) content ;
(*x*) A mechanical basis which is outside actual artistic processes (*e.g.*, MS. paper, its ruling, etc., in music) ;
(*xi*) A mechanical basis which is half within, half outside an actual artistic process (*e.g.*, the surface of a canvas (this is not found in all arts)) ;
(*xii*) A mechanical basis which is within an actual artistic process (*e.g* , certain metrical schemes, classical French poetic rules, basic rhythms in music) ;
(*xiii*) Particular Arts (as contrasted with each other) ;

(*xiv*) The artist himself, and his life, and methods (this is the most spurious of all the forms).

For instance, the Ontological Theory, which argues from the conception of God as the most real being to His necessary existence, has two such distinct aesthetic aspects :—

(*i*) For the notion that existence is contained in the conception of the most real being would be valid if the field were the relation of a work of art to its own structure and " significance " :

(*ii*) If, on the other hand, the field is taken to be the relation of an artist's conception to his execution, this would scarcely be so.

Let us consider now a few problems in life to which aesthetic significance may be attached, and in regard to which aesthetic research would be of use :

(*i*) The question as to which things are most effective when experienced only once, and which gain by precesion. In the former case (for instance), certain contracts, visits, revelations, etc.) ; the occasion takes a completed work of art as its model ; in the latter, each become like a single strand combining to form a completed work of art.

(*ii*) The beauty of emotions which are gentle, but perceived distinctly.

(*iii*) The pleasure of (so-called) platonic ones ; also, of reminiscence of the past rather than participation in a present event.

(*iv*) The Laws of Diminishing and of Increasing Returns, as shown prominently in Economics.

(*v*) Tolerance and Intolerance ; also, the relationships and adjustments between the two.

(*vi*) Inconsistencies in human character, as, respectively :—

(*a*) Conducive to beauty of character ;
(*b*) Needing to be added to, in order to produce beauty ;
(*c*) Tolerant both of beauty and of its absence ;
(*d*) Definitely obstructive of beauty.

(*vii*) The relationship of a person to a friend of one of his friends, who is not directly his own friend, provides an instance of the aesthetic significance of lateral, indirect, and suggestive personal relationships.

If A and B are friends, and also B and C, but not A and C directly, then there will come about when A and C meet, special boldnesses (as if they were long acquainted) and also some special reserves (more so than if they had met without the mediation of B).

If, moreover, A and C now meet each other frequently, but always under influence of B, then there is likely to come about between them an unconscious sympathy without intimacy; on its negative side this relationship has been denied the richness of intimacy, while on a possible positive side it represents a stage beyond the necessity for intimacy, a kind of austerity in a realm, not of desire, but of contact. Eventually A and C may both experience of one of the happiest states:—A perfect balance batween contentment with regard to the present condition of the relationship, and a prophetic and hopeful sense of the direct intimacy that may yet be—a margin being left for momentary yearnings and possible hopes and suggestions.

Finally, can we not find aesthetic effects in philosophy, in science, in religion?

A typical aesthetic effect in philosophy would seem to be one of Tension, as between the express anti-metaphysical *views* of the contemporary Logical Positives (Carnap, etc.) and the inevitably metaphysical *naiure* of such an expression itself.

The aesthetic qualities of scientific and philosophic work appertain to such work as science and philosophy, not as art. Nevertheless, new aesthetic phenomena and types can be discerned through considering the artistic aspects of philosophy or science, just as they can be discerned through the process of translation and comparative identification (of interchange, in fact) between any other aesthetic units.

It may be said that art gives us truth, but unprovable truth; and that Science yields us beauty, but beauty unexpressible.

Not only philosophy and science, but religion also examples of Selection, of Circularity, of Interchange, of Virtuosity, of Compensation, of Wheels within Wheels.

For instance, the selectivities found in connection with the problem of *Evil* range round the following types:—

(*i*) Selection of different kinds of evil—moral, intellectual, legal, physical, etc.:—on which to lay theological emphasis.

(*ii*) Selection shown by those who *either* do not attribute evil to God, *or* who disbelieve in God because evil prevents their believing in Him as loving: this selection being that of Love as against other Divine attributes;

(*iii*) The further selection shown by those who disbelieve in a God of Love, but not in God as such;

(*iv*) The selection shown by those who, like the Moslems, divide the world into the faithful (in whose midst evil is scarcely existent) and the non-faithful (among whom, and because of whose infidelity, it is rampant);

(*v*) The selection shown by the emphasis on evil rather than on good;

(*vi*) The selection shown by the emphasis on certain relations (subordinating ones) of evil to good (as in Christian Orthodoxy) rather than on other possible relations.

And religion abounds in Circularities and compensations. Here are four examples, taken from diverse branches of the religious field:—

(*i*) The compensations and circularities shown in the relation between mythological "fairy-tales" and ultimate common-sense and sanity, in one's acceptance of a religion.

(*ii*) Those shown in the alterations, and other relationships, between the sense of God being in the devotee and the devotee being in God.

(*iii*) Those shown in the way that asceticism, while renouncing the love of creatures, succeeds in its maturity in loving all things intensely. There is the sense in which *Noli Me Tangere* is somehow the highest contact.

(*iv*) "Whose service is perfect freedom."

Whitehead has well written that "The canons of art are merely the expression, in specialised forms, of the requisites for depth of experience."

Yet, after all, perhaps the crown—because so conscious—of aesthetic existence, is art. Applying Whitehead's saying, can we not find in the *Maids of Honour, Las Meninas,* of Velazquez, the expression in specialised (and vivid, because pictorial) form, the requisites for depth in any artistic achievement ? For in that picture Valazquez has painted himself painting the Infanta, who is indeed "selected" and "displayed," while in so doing he paints the King and Queen in a mirror, for they are in the position of spectators, and see themselves reflected, "imitated"; and by the mirror is a courtier in an open doorway, which seems in the same perspective as the mirror, such is art's fusion of reality and metaphor; and are not the two dwarfs symbolic of art, canonising the ungainly ? is not the pensive dog a key from which the picture's vivacity grows, and thus a pattern of art, her high vocation kissing her high gaiety ? finally there abound pictures and mirrors, while the doorway in which the courtier stands itself reveals another brighter mirror; yet the lesser canvas is not shown only its back, on the greater; and all is royal.

WHAT IS SURREALISM ?

S. N. Ray, M.A., Ph.D.

THE term Surrealism which obviously means super-realism is not widely known in this country. Moreover its implications are not so simple as its English synonym seems to suggest. The French word Surréalismé whose Anglicised form is being used here was first employed by Guillaume Apollinaire, Parisian poet and critic, in 1919, but did not rise into popularity till the end of the second decade of this century when it began to acquire an increasingly growing connotation. It is still in a state of mobility and to describe its varied significances is no easy job. It is an all-embracing movement and has brought about an attitude of revolution in politics, society, literature and art. It seeks to give a new basis to our thought and life. Though it is a modern movement, the Surrealists claim kinship with Swift and Blake, Chateaubriand and Hugo and discover their own characteristics in Shakespeare and Dante. The Marquis de Sade, whose name has given rise to the expression Sadism, is one of their spiritual forbears. Poe in adventure and Baudlaire in morals were Surrealists. Surrealism has discarded old ideas of morality, sexual behaviour, marriage and family life. Its conception of reality is fundamentally different from the traditional one. Political freedom is not enough for it ; it aims at the liberation of man from his own self. The Surrealists have made a new use of the well-known aphorism of Rousseau : " Man was born free but is everywhere in chains." The chains are not forged with steel but are made up of those impalpable influences which lurk at the back of mind and shape our thought. Man is a bondslave of his pre-conceived ideas and environment. From his childhood, he has come to believe that the world he sees is the only real world. A sensuous creature, he is incapable of understanding things that are beyond the senses. As with Wordsworth, so with the Surrealist, the world is a prison-house where he is fettered with the chains of second-hand and second-rate ideas, the preconceptions and prejudices that go by the name of " civilization." He is, however, not without his moments of freedom which he enjoys in the world of dream. It is curious that though half of our life is spent in it, we attach so very little importance to dream. We regard

it as a useless part of our life, an escape from reality, a thing for the self-indulgent and lazy and for which a successful man of the world has no need. Surrealism is relentless in its opposition to reason and the chief aim of its activities is the freedom of imagination from its bondage. Poetry to-day is the work of a few because the imagination of the average man is in chains. When it will be free everyone will be a poet. "Poetry," as Lautréamont, a well-known French writer, has said, "should be made by all. Not one."

The scope of Surrealism has been widened by the researches of Freud. The sub-conscious in our mental life had hitherto been ignored. But modern psychology has hurled a bomb-shell in the midst of our cherished ideas and demonstrated that the greater part of our life and behaviour remains unexplained without reference to the hidden currents of thought that constantly rise from the region of the sub-conscious.

André Briton, the most prominent figure of the school, has defined Surrealism as "Pure psychic automatism, by which it is intended to express, verbally, in writing, or by other means, the real process of thought, thought's dictation, in the absence of all control exercised by the reason and outside all aesthetic or moral preoccupations." According to the Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Surrealism rests on the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of association neglected heretofore ; in the omnipotence of the dream and in the disinterested play of thought. It tends definitely to do away with all other psychic mechanisms and to substitute itself for them in the solution of the principal problems of life. Thus there is no sphere of life which Surrealism does not seek to test with the discoveries of psychology. The fashionable theories of marriage, society and politics have been demolished and new approaches to the problems made. It demands maximum amount of liberty in every field including love and sexuality.

Non-conformism being the dominant note of Surrealism, one can very well imagine what its attitude should be towards literature. Here it seeks to nullify everything that is regarded as traditional and accepted. Logical precision and coherence is one of the conditions of good expression. But the Surrealist thinks differently. According to him the proper use of language is made only when it is spontaneous and automatic rather than logical and conscious. So when one replies to another irrespective of what the latter has said, one makes a

Surrealist use of language in conversation. Similarly unpremeditated images, like "the day was folded like a white cloth," or, chance combinations, like the meeting of a sewing machine and an umbrella on a dissecting table are apt instances of Surrealism. The old world prophesies of oracles in a mood of frenzy and the complete state o abstraction attained by men under the stress of profound passions are excellent examples of this mood. Defying the tyranny of logic, the Surrealists have refused to acknowledge any such thing as abnormality in mental life. Dream, lunacy, hysteria, all reveal some truth unknown to our ordinary processes of thought. It is no wonder that they attach to lunacy some special significance and are indignant at the treatment lunatics receive from society. They advocate a thorough reform of the asylums, for they consider lunacy not so much as a disease as an abstraction in which the subject is very near to true vision. They are not only interested in this but in that other form of insanity which is responsible for suicide. In the very first number of *The Surrealist Revolution*, the organ of the movement, the question, "Is Suicide a Solution ?" was asked in all seriousness and at the foot of every other page there were press-cuttings relative to suicide. They celebrated the anniversary of hysteria, held frequent séances and regarded clairvoyance with extraordinary wonder. An incoherent answer to a query gives them clue to the unfathomable mysteries of mind. For every act and word that is spontaneous, unpremeditated, and irrelevant, they have some mystical curiosity.

There is no doubt that Surrealism, like Dadaism[1] was the result of spiritual unrest which upset the mental equilibrium of the post-War world. Dadaism, of course, was an ephemeral manifestation whereas Surrealism has brought into existence a new outlook on life, a new approach to the problems that have aroused the questioning spirit of man in every age. This has led to new experiments with life, literature and art and departure from the well-known grooves of thought. Surrealist activity aims at the restoration of mental balance and establishment of political and spiritual peace. The answer to the question however has been sought through Karl Marx's philosophy of Dialectic Materialism. Like the Communist, the Surrealist does not allow the existence of private property, family

[1] *Vide Modern Review*, Oct., 1940, an article on the subject by the present writer.

life and the barriers between countries giving rise to eternal feuds, frequent wars, massacre, pillage and unspeakable horrors that brutalize the human soul. The second number of *The Surrealist Revolution* came out with an article by Bréton, "The Last Strike," and a declaration headed : "Open the Prisons. Disband the Army." The third number was more sensational than the previous ones in that it constituted a challenge to all accredited authorities. In this appeared letters to the Rectors of the Universities of Europe and Directors af Lunatic Asylums, addresses to the Pope and Dalai Lama asking them to set about their work from a new angle of vision. As Surrealism recognizes no private property, no family, no nationalistic state and no political frontiers, it has been characterized as anti-patriotic and subversive. "The Revolution Now and Ever" was the title of a manifesto issued with the fifth number of its journal which denounced the imperialist war in which France was then engaged against Morocco. It must, however, be remembered that though the principles of Marxism gave Surrealism unity and purpose, it was always viewed with suspicion in Moscow.

Between the years 1925 and 1929 a number of works was published and paintings exhibited in which the spirit of revolt reached a height of expression never before equalled. They refused to respect any inhibition imposed on thought by moral, social and political considerations. Thus René Crevel's *L'Esprit contre la Raison* Robert Desnos's *La Liberté ou l'Amour* put up a strong plea for the emancipation of thought and love from the bondage of reason and social conventions. Every issue of *The Surrealist Revolution* contained what is called "automatic texts." An automatic text is of the nature of a monologue in which the thought is spoken without any restraint. It pours out spontaneously so that the speaker's critical faculty does not exercise any control on his expression. The text thus obtained is claimed to be more striking and picturesque than what is regarded as normal writing. In this the Surrealist closely resembles the Spiritualist and believes, like the latter, in mediums and séances. According to him the thought that proceeds from the sub-conscious reveals the truth in a greater measure than our syllogistic way of thinking. This explains why Surrealist poetry has gone a different way and why it is so unintelligible. A few lines from Salvador Dali's *Love and Memory* will serve as a good illustration of this type of poetry:

There are things as still as a loaf.

In the endearing districts
but not excessively endearing
demarked very quickly and politely
predisposed to colonial influences
a mask
gathered in like a loan was
practically
upset
without getting mixed up
with
this colonial district
where
there were
several departmental
wands
etc., etc., etc.

It is evident that the poet is not anxious for any sense. A school of modern writers say that meaning is not the essential thing to be demanded of poetry. They lay more emphasis on (sharing the mood and emotions of the poet through his images and symbols. Innovation in technique) which Gerard Manley Hopkins taught the modern world is not within the reach of every rhymester who burns the mid-night oil nor the originality of Eliot and Pound. In consequence, we are presented with publications in the name of poetry, which, though highly praised by the coteries of the poets, are regarded by people brought up in the old school as worse than abortion. There is no doubt that modern literature has been greatly influenced by Surrealism. But so far it has given rise to chaotic effects. For beneficent results, we shall have to wait for some future time when the researches of Freud will interest not only faddists and cranks but also people of sound mind and intelligence.

On account of their hatred for the existing order, the Surrealists have introduced innovations even in their games and proverbs. The following are some of the examples of the latter:—

The further it is from the urn, the longer the beard.
Beat your mother while she is young.
All that fattens is not soft.
A corset in July is worth a horde of rats.

The Surrealist game is also equally ingenious. Four or five persons sit round a table and pass a sheet of paper, each one writing in turn, the first an adjective, the second a noun, the third a verb, the fourth an adjective, the fifth a noun. In this way complete Sentences are obtained. Obviously it is a harmless game but the Surrealists attach some mystical importance to it believing it to be the unconscious revelation of the group mind.

The Surrealist energy has expressed itself also in painting in its own characteristic way. It has introduced in art what is called *collage*, a sort of pictorial representation in which parts of various pictures are assembled. Thus illustrations even from calendars, cards and cigarettes are used for this purpose. The nature of Surrealist painting would be clear if we consider the works of Picasso, the originator of Cubism, Chirico and Max Ernst whose position in the modern art world is very high. According to them, Surrealism represents the point at which poetry and painting merge into each other. If poetry can be made by all, it should be within the power of all to make pictures. All that is needed for the Surrealist work of art is an unshackled imagination and a few materials, *viz.*, paper or cardboard, pencil, scissors, paste, an illustrated magazine and a catalogue or newspaper. The marvellous is within everyone's reach. *Collage* and *papiers collés* are born of this idea. These are shapes cut out of newspapers and catalogues incorporated in a design or a picture and thus they combine the reality of everyday world with that constructed by the mind. But it would be wrong to suppose that Surrealist painting is more or less mechanical, for Chirico is the painter of those great deserted towns which we see in dreams. Max Ernst produced by rubbing paper with charcoal across the uneven surfaces of wood and stone, his mythology of birds, suns and infernal demigods, flowers and birds of dream. Man Ray caught the world of shadows by the lens of his camera and raised photography to the dignity of painting. But the school is criticised for its tendency to do away with technical skill, " fine drawing " and craftsmanship.

From the foregoing paragraphs it would be clear that Surrealism is a school of thought that attempts a revaluation of old beliefs, traditions and canons of taste. It seeks to revise the old scales of value in every field, reject worn-out customs and institutions and construct a form of society in which men and women will be able to make full use of all their faculties.

GESTALT PSYCHOLOGY AND LITERARY CRITICISM

AMIYAKUMAR SEN, M.A.

I

DURING the nineteenth century analytical psychology dominated the entire field of research. It used introspection as the only method of investigation, and sought to break up complex mental states into their constituent elements. It regarded human experience as built up out of simple sensations combined according to the laws of association. It was, however, observed by opponents of this school that the elements are not given in experience. They have to be separated out, and, as such, are themselves mental constructs. They are artificial, and so, "the whole analytic-synthetic problem in psychology is manufactured and not real." As early as 1890 psychological studies claimed to have discovered a "form quality" or "a property possessed by a whole which is not possessed by the parts making up the whole." It was pointed out that the "same patterns, forms, or figures could be formed by different elements" and "different patterns of the same elements." Psychologists of those days could not reconcile this "form quality" with their own system and, consequently, there soon grew up a school which sought to replace the old "element" by "gestalt" or "configuration."

Literature according to this school is an essentially new interpretation of life and criticism has to take into account the results of psychological investigations into reasoning. Their interpretation of the term "reasoning" is, however, different from the meaning commonly attached to it. The term "implies that past experiences have, in some way, been manipulated and that new relationships have arisen as a result." The reasoning process consists in seeing solutions to problems, and psychologists, in order to get an adequate idea of its nature, must enquire how such solutions are arrived at. Experiments, according to this school, have shown that 'mental trial and error' or 'past experience' cannot overcome the difficulty.

The mind of man, when he faces any problem, is in a state of confusion. The elements of the solution are, indeed, there before him but they are all in a state of chaos. In every problem there is a gap and tensions are generated in the individual mind which are not relieved till this gap is satisfactorily filled. Much now depends upon how he looks at the problem or what he considers to be the nature of the difficulty he has to overcome. It determines the direction, that is, the way the problem is attacked. If right, it leads to the solution: if wrong, man finds himself unsuccessful. "The Gestalt school of psychology describes the solution of a problem as the sudden formation of a Gestalt—a configuration, pattern, or a grouping. The disconnected experiences are integrated, and there at once flashes into the mind of man a definite pattern. The chaotic elements of experience fall into their proper places in this solution-organisation and, as they do so, they seem to gather round themselves a new meaning and a new significance. The elements of the solution-organisation had, in the past formed parts of other patterns and thus gained particular meanings. These habitual meanings might prevent them from becoming parts of a new grouping. They must be broken down before they can be formed into a new Gestalt. It is direction which, alone, can help on the formation of the correct configuration and inhibit others. "The elements which will satisfactorily fill in the gap are thus facilitated and all others kept out.

II

An unformed mass of stimuli rouses a mass of sensations a part of which is combined into a definite group while the rest "fall back and become the back-ground." The organism makes out this configuration and, in its creation, feelings of like or dislike often play a prominent part. The scientist tries to eliminate these affective elements as much as possible. Great Art, however, must always have a strong emotional appeal; consequently the artist cannot, and does not ignore, far less, reject, the strong subjective element which, "due to past conditioning normally exists in our interpretation of experience;" for it is as much a part of the data out of which the pattern is formed as sensations. Out of these data, subjective and objective, the artist or poet makes his interpretation, his pattern, his configuration. For his own experience no concrete medium is necessary; but he might desire to communicate it to his fellow-men. He has then to express

himself. He must present it in a grouping of symbols—words, colours, light and shade, musical notes—which act as *stimuli* to rouse in us similar, if not the same, configuration as experienced and formed by the artist. Great Literature is "a highly desirable interpretation" adequately communicated. A poet must arrange his symbols in such a way that his readers might form within themselves a similar experience. "If a writer has a great interpretation to communicate and his communication is inadequate no one will completely experience his interpretation. He is not an artist. If a writer makes only commonplace interpretations yet possesses an extremely adequate method of communication he too fails of artistry ; for it is the successful combination of both factors that produces great works of art."

The artist's configuration is the result of his confronting a particular situation. It is, more often than not, an unusual interpretation. Individuals, however, approach the art-work without actually passing through a similar experience. Their habitual and common configurations cling to them. The artist, in order that his work might evoke similar patterns in individuals, has to break down these configurations by skilful use of symbols. Language (in the case of poetry) must be arranged so dexterously that open-minded readers will see the artist's interpretations inspite of their ordinary and usual groupings. - A proper use of direction will be of very great assistance to the artist so far as this question is concerned. Applying one direction after another he may gradually break down the inhibiting influences and help the reader on to the creation of the correct patterns. "Insight is the experience of the sudden formation of grouping the elements of which come from parts of different unified past experiences. A writer cannot achieve insight for the reader, the reader must do that for himself. He can, however, furnish the reader with facts, with proper directions, with adequate emphasis on important elements and thus bring the reader to the threshold of a new grouping."

Imagination has, very often, been regarded as the ability to represent combinations of past experiences. This power technically called "imagery" is over-emphasised in psychological enquiries regarding the nature of imagination. Gestalt psychology, however, points out that mere "imagery" cannot produce art. Dreams and reveries are not art for, although they contain many images, these images are very rarely combined into desirable patterns. Imagination is creative and because it is creative, it implies something

more than mere combination and recalling of past experience. Creativeness in art involves a reorganisation, rather, an integration of experience.

Our experience is based upon sensations. The sense-organs are stimulated by the environment and the sensations that accompany such stimulation are felt as coming from external objects. "We experience the sensory qualities not as qualities of our sense-organs but rather as qualities of the stimulating object." They form the objective data of an experience. Along with these sensations there often arise vague and unlocalised masses of sensory data derived from changes in heart-rate, blood-circulation, etc. They are "the richest when we have affective or emotional experience." Unlike objective sensations which are very common to the race these sensory data which accompany emotional experiences depend on individuals. The same stimulus does not produce the same experience in the same individual at different times nor in different individuals at the same time. Being indirectly produced and, depending as they do on individuals, such indefinite and variable sensory data can be easily differentiated from objective sensations. Psychologists call them subjective.

The only difference between the two types of imagination—scientific and artistic lies in the nature of the data or elements integrated. The scientist uses objective sensations. Darwin had accumulated a large mass of facts, disconnected and inorganised which was without any real significance. The Malthusian theory seemed to open his eyes all on a sudden. It acted as "a proper direction," integrated his "great mass of inorganised data," and invested them with new meanings.

Creative art concerns itself with beauty. "A thing is beautiful or ugly not in its own right but because of the subjective reaction to it." Values have to depend upon "personal reactions to an object" rather than upon the object itself. Creative art has, consequently, to use subjective sensations; and "an artistic interpretation is a configuration largely made up of subjective data."

The inspiration of the artist can now be explained. "Certain experiences have been thought about; the artist has felt a problem; he has had vague reactions" and then all on a sudden some little thing integrates these feelings into a new interpretation. A new pattern flashes into his mind and sets him working. He calls

this inspiration. As we think in symbols such new patterns very often appear as integrations of symbols. Thus a Coleridge has the Kubla Khan written for him and a musician finds his melodies ready-made.

No artistic configuration can be wholly subjective. There must be some elements to which subjective data can adhere, which they can colour. Not to speak of a novel or a drama in which the objective story element plays an important part, even lyrics must have some objective data to give their feelings a solid basis. As a matter of fact, patterns usually consist of both kinds of data ; our classifications are largely artificial and " in designating the nature of any specific interpretation, the best we can do is to say that the data are essentially subjective or objective."

III

" All artistic configurations consist of subjective and objective sensations. When they are integrated and organised, thoughts and ideas are experienced." Criticism should have a utilitarian outlook. It should try to find out the value of these thought-patterns. It must ask " what difference a thought-configuration will make if it is acted upon." For purposes of such an estimate it is convenient to consider separately the objective and subjective data. The objective data may be called ideas and the subjective, interpretations.

Ideas have value if they are true. False ideas, because they are out of harmony with accepted facts, can but produce undesirable consequences. Contradictory ideas lead to confusion and, if acted upon, to painful experiences. Consistency or harmony, therefore, is another characteristic feature of a valuable idea. On a deeper analysis it is found that true ideas are often dependent on various factors for their desirable consequences. Sometimes a true idea (like " evolution ") is accepted by some and rejected by others. It has desirable consequences for these who accept it. It results in a " better understanding of life and the universe." When accepted by a large majority, it influences scientific and other investigations and, by reason of the progress it brings about, benefits even those who do not accept it. Sometimes, again, an idea (" Mendelian heredity ") remains unnoticed for many years because its significance has not been caught by men. So long, however, as it is not definitely

utilised to integrate disconnected masses of materials into an organised whole it can have no value.

Ideas which explain "the facts of the day" but are afterwards found to be false may, for the time being, have desirable consequences. They not only harmonize disconnected experiences but may also lead to the discovery of a more satisfactory theory. "Truth is entirely a relative matter. One idea acts better than another and fits other facts better than another."

Ideas may be classified as having more or less desirable consequences. Generalisations, when acted upon, have greater consequences than particulars. Literature worth the name raises universal problems. Its personages and incidents might be particular but they are mere instruments utilised to create these problems and illustrate their consequences. It is, however, critics with a larger back-ground and subtler reflective powers who can fully comprehend the universal problems symbolised in great literature. There are also other problems, decidedly temporal in character, which "have great consequences for limited groups or in a limited period of history or in a certain locality." Such ideas have also value and can be universalised when their significance in the evolution of cultures and civilisations is brought out. An idea to be valuable must also be new, it must cover facts not interpreted before in a similar manner.

Interpretations or subjective ideas have the same criteria of evaluation as objective ideas. They must be "consistent with other subjective ideas." An interpretation to be true must be in harmony with other interpretations. Conflicting emotions, like contradictory ideas, lead to painful experiences. Not only must emotions be integrated but they must also be attuned to "the fundamental desires of the human nature. They have always a natural basis and so cannot be in a direction contrary to the more fundamental responses of the organism." These are much the same in individuals, but education, nurture, social ideals and behaviours and various other factors make the emotional life of individual and groups divergent. Owing to this divergent nature of emotional life, individuals and groups cannot react in the same manner to the interpretations they come in contact with. A certain subjective configuration, a pattern, may be consistent with the emotional life of one group and not with that of another. Hence it is necessary to assimilate the emotional patterns of a people before their literature can be fully appreciated.

The consequence of an interpretation must also be valuable. It must help to develop and integrate our emotional responses to an objective world and " break down conflicting emotion or emotions which are undesirable." It must also be universal in character, must get beyond particulars and present a new view-point. Like the objective, the subjective data can have no meaning unless they are integrated and organised. " To have a mass of conflicting impulses is not to have a clear understanding of one's emotional experience any more than it is to experience a group of contradictory objective facts." We must experience something definite, feel something definite. This experience of the integration of subjective data, this understanding is absolutely necessary for efficient communication. As in the case of ideas, interpretations are communicated by symbols—words, musical notes, etc. Words have feeling-tones about them but it is often felt that language, referring as it does primarily to objective data, is inadequate to express emotional experience. Hence the use of rhythm in poetry, for it is an admitted fact that musicians can communicate, through melody, interpretations that defy " verbalisation."

IV

In the case of literature the artist has to express his interpretation of experience by means of language-patterns. Words are the materials of a sentence. They must be chosen in such a manner as to communicate, clearly and adequately, to the reader elements which, when integrated, enable him to form the same, or rather similar, patterns as experienced by the writer. Objective sensations are different from subjective data and, as such, have to be expressed differently and, as a matter of fact, artists have developed a definite language, for communicating each type of data.

Words are, accordingly, denotative and connotative. Denotative words are those which " indicate precisely and accurately definite elements in the configuration." The scientist eliminates emotional reactions from his statements. The experiences he objectifies or describes are definite and clear and so the words he uses are denotative. The artist, however, has to evaluate and interpret some less definite inner experience. The pattern that he seeks to communicate blends subjective with objective data. Obviously, his task is subtler and more difficult than the scientist's. But he has an instrument

ready at hand. Emotional experience, specially those of a fundamental character, remains constant. Words which express them are, more or less, old and, during their long usage, they gradually gather round themselves emotional associations. Such words might be designated as connotative or "emotive." They imply something more than their primary meaning. They are suggestive and "stimulate the reader to fill in many of the elements of configuration for himself." The poet uses them to communicate the subjective elements in his configurations.

Figures of speech also are utilised by the poet and the literary artist, for they express "attitudes and opinions rather than objective references"; and, as such, "evoke in the reader many elements not actually found in language patterns."

The sentence is a "meaningful organisation" of elements. The meaning of its elements, *i.e.*, words, depends entirely upon the significance of the sentence. The words have to be so organised in a sentence that its meaning might be, clearly and with precision, communicated to the reader. But the sentence itself is an element in a larger configuration, *viz.*, the paragraph, which in its turn is a part of another organisation. The art of writing, therefore, is cumulative process—the building of meaning upon meaning in order to establish an idea or an interpretation in the mind of the reader.

The integrative process is the most fundamental fact in artistic creation. "The form is mechanic," observes Coleridge, "when on any given material we impress a predetermined form, not necessarily arising out of the properties of the material. The organic form, on the other hand, is innate; it shapes as it develops itself from within." Rules, by themselves, cannot ensure artistic unity. They might be valuable generalisations from artistic practice but, being external, they have no ultimate authority. "The literary critic must evaluate writing in the light of the experiental unity it produces. Further, he must examine writing to determine the extent to which the writer has skilfully arranged his materials by means of establishing and maintaining the proper direction, in order to induce the reader to experience his (the writer's) interpretation and no other."

The artist's personality is also expressed in his art. In literature, apart from the integration of experience and the technique of its communication, one can find the presence of certain other ele-

ments which exhibit the individual peculiarities of the writer. Such variations " depend upon the individual's freedom rather than on his ideas or skill." They form " the personal element " in writing. Criticism of literature, based entirely upon the critic's reactions to this personal element, has no objective standard of reference ; and such criticism is a mere expression of personal likes and dislikes. " Taste " often helps a critic in his judgment of literature ; but, being absolutely subjective and extremely variable, it cannot play any prominent part in literary criticism.

The critic must further remember that writing is a unitary organisation in which the idea, the technique and the personal element have all been fused together. As such, it need not have any of the characteristic features of these parts any more than common salt need have the characteristics of sodium and chlorine. The whole is always greater than the mere sum of its parts.

Over-emphasis on what has been called " style " is the result of inadequate appreciation of the function of criticism. Most examinations of style regard certain qualities as desirable, " these have been arrived at by finding the common characteristics in desirable styles." Before such isolation of desirable characteristics, ' good ' styles must have been distinguished from ' bad ' ones. How, it might very well be asked, were they so differentiated? What standard was used? Was not that standard far more fundamental than such generalisations from desirable styles? Are not new methods of writing developed with the change in the mental configuration of writers? Can they be judged with reference to these ' qualities ' found desirable in the past? On deeper analysis it is found that the word " style " is used indiscriminately to denote any one of the three elements of writing. But all these factors are inter-dependent and no true evaluation can be made on the basis of one as isolated from others. If we consider some of these qualities it will be apparent that they enlighten us very little concerning the true nature of writing. To say that a writing lacks clarity is to say nothing, for lack of clarity may be a characteristic of the idea or of the technique. " Since good writing is the product of a clear idea and effective communication, no specificity is found in such labels as ' clear,' ' forceful,' ' sincere,' etc. " Writing can be analysed, understood and evaluated as a whole with no reference whatsoever to style." Criticism should always evaluate

literature according as it fulfils its distinct purpose, *viz.*, the formation in the mind of the reader of a configuration similar to that experienced by the writer. In order to be successful, a critic must have a clear and definite appreciation of the idea, the objective data of the writer's configuration. He must also be able to experience the artist's interpretation, his subjective data. Not only so, he must know the foundations of effective communication and recognise its degree of efficacy in presenting the artist's configuration. "Effective evaluation comes from the critic's own knowledge and sincerity and from an evaluation of each of the three elements which make up the whole of writing."

V

Great literature, according to the critics of this school, is "a highly desirable interpretation adequately communicated," but their description of how this interpretation is formed makes the art-process more intellectual than it really is. The artist is represented as facing a problem. He thinks about certain experiences. The configuration that he seeks to communicate might be revealed to him in a flash of insight as it were, but it is nevertheless the solution of his problem. Does the artist or the poet really face any problem before giving expression to his experience or does he communicate any configuration because it solves his problems? Is it not rather the case that his pattern "swims into his ken" from beneath the threshold of his consciousness as "a thing of beauty" which is "a joy for ever?" A pattern is valuable to the poet or the artist not because it gives him intellectual satisfaction by solving a problem but because it satisfies his aesthetic self. The intrusion of the problem and its solution motif in art leads to didacticism which is not art. The experiences of poets like Wordsworth, Shelley and others plainly show that art is far removed from the intellectual processes of the human mind. The theories they built up on the basis of their experiences might be wrong but the experiences are there and they must be adequately accounted for by any system of thought, psychological or otherwise, which presumes to explain the art-process.

It has been asserted that the artist or the poet after forming his interpretation or configuration does not require any concrete

medium for his own experience. It is only when he wants to communicate this pattern to others that he has to present it in a grouping of symbols. This view loses sight of the fact that art is as much self-expression as communication. When the artist experiences a pattern (to use the language of Gestalt psychology) his experience is not fully consummated so long as it is not objectified. The concrete objectification of experience is necessary even for the satisfaction of the artist. One may not go as far as Croce and regard art as intuition-expression but the fact remains that intuition always struggles into expression. And it is in this expression that it gains definiteness.

If the poet communicates merely a pattern revealed to him, literature becomes the representation of reality in its static aspect. It cannot give us the dynamism of life around us. Its world becomes dead and cold. However great the integration of experience might be, if the poet has to describe it in words he has to enumerate one after another its different aspects. He has to render the co-existent by means of the successive. The inevitable result of such an attempt would be a blurred and confused image. Lessing has pointed out in his *Laocoon* that literature, by reason of its materials and its mode of expression, has to be differentiated from other types of art. Not merely the " moment eternalised " but the gradual development and evolution of a mood, a character or a scene is also the proper subject-matter of literature. It is, therefore, not one single configuration that the poet communicates but a series of successive configurations, and the problem of communicating them is far more complex than it is represented to be.

They have not also adequately differentiated between artistic and other configurations. A configuration of concepts cannot be regarded as artistic because art is concerned with concrete experiences expressed through concrete imagery. A philosopher, for instance, may give us a complete configuration of his idea of the universe ; that will not be art but philosophy pure and simple. The poet may not give us any such scheme of concepts, but if he expresses through images the concrete experiences of his life he is an artist.

In the analysis of the poet's configuration, again, the critics seem to lay equal emphasis on the subjective and the objective elements. Although they differentiate between the scientist's and the artist's configuration and assert that " an artistic interpretation

is largely made up of subjective data "they do not recognise the fact that in literature, specially in poetry, the world of reality has significance only in so far as it acts as a scaffolding for the emotional experiences of the poet. The poet and even the dramatist create what is after all a "mock-world." It is in this mock-world that the poet's emotions and interpretations are either directly expressed or objectified in the characters or situations that he conjures up by his imagination. It is the "interpretations" rather than the "ideas" which are of supreme importance both to the poet and to his readers.

Literature, again, is essentially subjective. Even in the story and the drama it is the artist's personality which clings like an aroma to the world that he creates. The characters he creates are stamped with his own self. The incidents take their significance from his own outlook on life. The world-order he represents is instinct with his own ideas and ideals. Shakespeare's *Othello* lives in the tragic world of Shakespeare and develops according to Shakespeare's own ideas of human character and human types. To ignore this all-important aspect of literature so as to relegate this personal element to a subordinate position in the world of art argues little appreciation of the true significance of art.

In their representation of the poet and artist, the critics of this school seem to regard him as absolutely isolated from the environment. But they do not consider the influence of the social ego on the mind of the artist. Man in relation to society, acting on and acted on by the social forces, is the proper subject both of literature and of criticism, and we cannot understand the true significance of art without reference to this social being, the artist. As a matter of fact no communication is possible unless the reader and the artist participate in the same social ego. Symbols are significant both to the reader and to the poet when they have common agreed meanings. Their analysis of the process of artistic communication is incomplete without proper consideration of this common social ego. Although the Gestalt School of Criticism makes some real contribution to critical thought by laying emphasis on the integrating principle in art and the aspect of artistic communication its theory is defective because it ignores important aspects of the art-process.

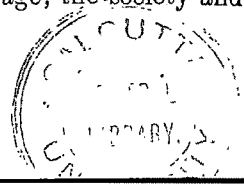
The quotations are from Maier's *A Psychological Approach to Literary Criticism.*

SOME CURRENTS OF HINDI AND ENGLISH LITERATURES

LALITA PRASAD SUKUL, M.A.

THEY say human nature is the same everywhere. This presents before us a problem of psycho-analysis, *i.e.*, a scientific examination of the motives, passions, thoughts and feelings of men. The universality of human sentiments is an outcome of such an examination, and even commonsense would lead to the same conclusion ; because a man would perhaps naturally act in the same manner under the same circumstances, whatever part of the world he may come from. There may be a difference of style or method or even of time ; but ultimately the results must be the same. This ' sameness ' of human nature can be best examined in studying the ' currents of any two great literatures. After all a literature is a channel through which the pent-up spirit of an age manifests itself ; and the energy of the race discharges itself. The thoughts and feelings, aspirations and ideals, doubts and struggles, faith and hope reveal the complexity and intensity of an epoch through its literature alone:

It is well known that literary influences do introduce new currents of tastes which carry even the most independent writers along with them. And often the influences that most profoundly affect literature are not literary: they are influences which belong not to books and scholarship but to general life, politics and society. Whatever brings fresh interests and ideas into the life of an age, whatever tends to modify its ways of thought and feeling and to change its attitude towards men and things must of necessity enter as a vital factor into the making of its literature. We must never think of a book as though it were written outside the conditions of time and space. We must think of it as the work of a man who living in a certain age was affected according to the nature of his own personality by the atmosphere and the movements of that age. But then in its own turn literature has also got its hand in moulding the age, the society and the times.



The same is the relation of literature with an individual. Although Taine says "the individual is subservient to the 'Time Spirit,' is completely a sample of the race and the epoch," yet, I believe, a really great man is as much the creator as he is the creature of the time in which he lives, moves and breathes. In this respect Goethe's maxim 'every man is the citizen of his age as well as of his country'—is much more to the point.

Although we have decided not to consider the outward literary garb for the present, yet the rational importance of a language necessitates a passing consideration of its growth. From the very beginning of our study we find striking similitudes in the two literatures: and this adds to the interest of the subject-matter.

700 A.D. has been fixed by some scholars to be the birth date of Hindi.

The older opinions about the growth of Hindi were that it was directly a degenerate and corrupt form of Sanskrit. Thinkers of this school did not take into consideration the other two stages, namely, the Prakrit and the Apabhransa. But a modern linguist knows that Hindi is the most natural evolution from the Apabhransa which was in vogue after the Prakrit stage.

The first productions of Hindi literature were the very best specimen of heroic poetry. The whole of Raso literature abounds in heroic sentiments. If Chanda wrote his Prithwi Raj Raso, at least seven more Rasos were written by other poets like Jagnik and Raghupati.

Looking to the social and political conditions of both the countries we find the level was almost equal. In India if one clan of the Rajputs was ready to pounce upon the other, in England too, the Barons of this age were not less turbulent. If India was not free from foreign invasions, England was still less free. The period of the beginning has always been unpeaceful with every nation: and it was so with us. Such a warry atmosphere could not be suitable for any other type of literature except that of the heroic. But in the general delineation of themes we do perceive some difference. For instance the Raso literature of India is not merely a collection of eulogistic tales of the kings and heroes. They also contain the valuable history of the times. But on the other hand the English literature of that period is little more than mere tales.

In connection with the Raso literature some people thought the mohamadan invasions to be the cause of its production. If it were

so there would have been no chance for the production of Jagnik's Alhakhand in Bundelkhand which remained unaffected by mohamadan invasions for so many years to come. This fact well refutes the above theory. As a matter of fact it was the Rajput ' temper ' responsible for the production of this class of literature.

This vast period of so many centuries was hardly over when the conditions began to change. In England the foreign dominance was being replaced by the government of the people ; and in India the foreigners, *i.e.*, the muslims were coming in to replace the Rajputs. This effected a change in politics, society and in religion alike. In this moment of change Chaucer was born in England and his life itself was a witness to so many important changes. By the time Chaucer could hold his pen, Renaissance with the spirit of ' Humanism ' had secured its firm hold in the country, and with the new learning of Renaissance and the influx of a fresh and very different spirit, came in the quickened sense of beauty, the delight in life and the free secular spirit which continued to appear tremendously in English literature and in the words of Emile Legouis " all the writers of this time reveal some aspect of contemporary life and of prevailing feeling and thought."

Now if we look to the conditions of Northern India, the chief centre of our literary activites, the changes in the social and religious conditions were not less remarkable. Dis-satisfaction against political, religious and social corruptions was one of the chief forces that inspired the sects of Ramanand, Nanak and Gorakh. Social reform was one of the features of the Vaishnavism of Ramanand. This developed still more in the hands of Kabir. The whole literature of this period reflects the religious and social conditions of our country. Besides these few homogenous religous sects a new branch was developed under the Mohamadan influence and it was of ' Sufism.' It had its very mystic interpretations of thoughts and a very complex machinery of practical application. Mulla Daud, one of our first Mohamadan poets was a follower of this new religion. In his love-romance ' Nurakchanda ' he gave vent to some of his Sufistic fancies. Thus a new type of ' love-romance ' was introduced in our literature which later on developed very well at the hands of Jayasi, Kutuban and Usman. These love-romances were more or less allegorical and in this much they were different from those of Chaucer. But even in England these Chaucerian romances developed into allegories in the hands of Spencer in the early sixteenth century. His ' Faery Queen '

may be cited as an example. But let no one think that at this stage there was no difference between the allegories of India and those of England. They differed from each other at least in this respect that the English allegories were chiefly ethical while in India they were metaphysical. Inspite of this slight difference we perceive an inherent similitude in both and we might well say that both these currents were the outcome of a religious revival.

The fifteenth century opens with a new and very important chapter of life of the Englishman and of an Indian alike. With its novelty all around we cannot help seeing in it the marks of the old foundation under the entire fabric that was erected now. Only a little above we have seen that in the times of Chaucer 'Humanism' had its sway all over England; now again a still newer influence was brought in by Wyatt and Surrey from Italy. It was a love poetry or 'amourist' poetry as it was called which Petrarch and his followers had made popular and with it the form called the sonnet. The publication of Tottel's Miscellany—a collection of songs and sonnets in 1557—marks a definite beginning of the new era of love-lyrics in English literature and we see the subsequent age abounding in such a poetry.

The above state of affairs was equally applicable to the Hindi world, where, only a little while ago, we had seen the establishment of Vaishnavism and Shaivism in their various forms. But the times were not quite favourable to Shaivism and hence it could not flourish. Only Vaishnavism was left in the field and on account of a very congenial atmosphere it could maintain its hold for a very long time and upon a very wide circle. As has already been mentioned above in these religious revivals the idea of social reform was always present. While introducing his new sect Ramanand also emphasised on social reforms; but in main he preached to his disciples to be true 'worshipers' (उपासक) of Ram—an incarnation of Vishnu. Kabir—a disciple of Ramanand—was a greater social reformer. In respect of worship he had chalked out quite a new plan for himself and his followers. Although he had declared himself a devotee of Rama, yet his Rama was neither the incarnation of Vishnu nor the prince of Ayodhya. His Rama was the all-pervading Nirgun Parabramha. Just at this time another incarnation of Vishnu was introduced and it was Krishna. Vallabhacharya was one of the chief persons to introduce this worship in the Northern India. These various reli-

gious sects differed from each other not merely in form alone ; but also in their spirit. For instance, the creed of Ramanand was to worship the God like a servant: while the creed of the Krishnaites was that of devotion to their God in a friendly manner (सखा भाव): and that of Kabir prescribed a complete devotion combined with some Yogic practices But inspite of these material differences there was a common string running through all these sects and this was the supreme principle of 'love and peace' binding all these sects into one. The yearning for love, devotion and peace had almost become universal. The very tone of our literature of this age suggests as if the current of love was flowing through the channels of Sánta-Rasa. Only a passing glance on the literature of that age is enough to give us an idea how love and devotion had entered into our very souls.

This is how we see this high tide of love coming into both the literatures in the same order and more or less at the same time. But it would be a positive mistake to think that these currents of love in both the literatures were the same. In reality they were the two different aspects of one and the same image. The love in English literature was purely secular while in Hindi it was devotional, worshipful, and to a great extent spiritual. To one who knows the political conditions of the two countries, it would not be very difficult to find out the causes of this difference. Unlike India, England has never worn the chains of slavery ; nor had it ever experienced the pinch of a foreign domination. Contrary to the religious movements of England our religious upheavals in India, inspite of their number and variety, have been unanimously peaceful and devotional and their growth has been almost simultaneous. Apart from the activities of social reformers there were other reasons too which necessitated their growth. It was a time when social degeneration and political tyranny had reached their climax ; and in such a plight people had no alternative left except praying for their emancipation ; and it has been aptly said that "Religion is the last and the best source of consolation to the oppressed" Even in this devotional litrature art was not totally absent: but its development and completion was yet to be achieved.

The chapter that now opens before us contains the history of such literary jewels as have been illumining their countries for so many centuries past and even today they are considered to be the

pivot of our culture and literary achievements. Their lustre is eternal and undiminishing. The advent of the sixteenth century was an age when the ground was quite prepared to receive the new plant of love which had only recently been implanted by such skilled gardeners as Wayatt and Surrey, Ramanand and Kabir, and Vallabh and Vidyapati. Then the happiest coincidence was that this tenderest yet the the loveliest plant was entrusted to the care of those who were in no way inferior to their predecessors. If they were Spencer and Shakespeare and Drayton in England, India had also the honour of producing Surdas, Tulsidas and Mirabai. By virtue of its wonderful fertility and the variety and splendour of its productions this period as a whole ranks as one of the greatest in the annals of the world literature. We observe that sometimes the average mood of a nation is sluggish and dull and sometimes it is exceptionally vigorous and alert. Fortunately this was a world in which the tides of life were at their highest. Influences were everywhere at work which tended to expand thoughts, stir the feelings, dilate the imaginations and lay nourishing as well as stimulating genius to give breath and energy to the literature produced. In England it was the time of Elizabeth which was renowned for its peace and prosperity, and in India it was the time of Akbar which was none the less known for its cultural advancement. In the works of Shakespeare we study love in "human nature, human emotions, and human passions;" but its remarkable development was achieved in painting the love of Britain. A dominating note of patriotism in literature was an outcome of this. In this very period the next stage of the development of love was John Dunn's metaphysical current. Now again Daniel and Drayton and Shakespeare—in his sonnets—had given it a new turn by writing "their love poems in the Italian manner, which trace the movements and fluctuations of passions: while in some cases the experiences and sentiments are real, in others they are feigned." But in all these various channels of literature we do feel the force of creative genius at the back of the whole age and the poppy of love bearing so many lovely flowers of so many defferent colours at one and the same time.

This age in Hindi literature was nonetheless glorious. The plant of love established in by Ramanand and Kabir and Vallabha had now transformed itself into the affections of Nanda and Yasoda and Radha: while in the hands of Tulsidas it had melted into a

'mansarovara' of filial fondness and love of duty. Then Kabir and his disciples in their own way gave it a serious and spirtualistic tinge of mysticism. But this mysticism of Hindi was quite different from that of Donne and Crashew. Dr. Johnson, while characterising the metaphysical poets, has very well said that "they were men of learning and to show their learning was their whole endeavour. They cultivated ingenuity at any cost, substituted philosophical subtleties and logical hair-splitting for the natural expresson of feeling." But in our mysticism there was invariably an effort to solve the mystery of ātmā and Paramātmā and māyā and in it the Yogic phraseology had found its fullest play. Before this sort of mysticism came to be popular we remember to have seen the introduction of 'Sufistic' love-remances in Hindi and these sufistic ideas naturally had their influence on our mystic literature.

Now for sometime in place of a close similitude we shall find a slight difference in the order of currents in the two literature.. So far as we know the tendency of English literature had been through and through 'secular'. But action and reaction is an inevitable law. Now in English literature the reaction had set in against the secular tendency. In every phase there was a burning demand for something moral, ethical, and religious to be brought into the literature. Here comes the epoch-making age of Milton. The whole production of this age bears the stamp of 'puritanism' on its forehead and in a very short time it reached its limits. So much so, that it began to give out a stench of 'puritanic religiosity,' on the other hand the result of the reaction in Hindi literature was that the characteristic spritual and devotional tone began to yield place in favour of 'sacularisation.' So to our astonishment we see that when the time-honoured secular tendency of English literature was fast flowing towards religion and morality, our devotional literature was rapidly decaying into 'secularism.' But this difference did not last long. Soon after in England there grew a surfeit against puritanism and a counter-reaction in favour of secularism commenced. And thus again we see the two currents running parallel.

Inasmuch as Dryden and Pope came on the literary stage of England to make it 'artistically artificial, Keshawa Deva and Matiram were not far behind them in Hindi literature. In consequence of these personalities we at once begin to perceive (1) that gravity was losing ground from both the literatures and a demand for light litera-

ture was fast approaching (2) the outward form was assuming a greater importance and (3) equally in both the literatures a new branch of criticism was developing. As Saintsbury remarks:" "In this growth of criticism and of the corresponding tendency to check and guide production by time and rule, we have another illustration of the spirit of an age which was far stronger on the side of analysis than on that of imagination and in which the intellectual predominated over creative powers." This remark of Saintsbury is equally applicable to the criticism of Hindi literature of that age.

"The essay of dramatic poesy," "the essay on criticism," the 'Kavipriya,' and the 'Lalit Lalam' and the other so-called literary codes, were the outcome of this new tendency. These drove the literature far away from being natural. At least in England it was thoroughly an age of 'good sense' which meant a love of the 'reasonable and the useful' and a hatred for the extravagant, the mystical and the visionary. Now there was a supremacy of logic and reason; "there was no attempt to stir the sluggish conscience through the feelings but to convince the intellect." Even in theology we find the writings of the eighteenth century down to the beginning of Westley's Evangelistic revival, they are characterised by this rationalistic and utilitarian temper. In a word the marked tendency of the age probably in both the literatures was towards shallowness in thought and formality in expression. It was a literature of intelligence, of wit, and of fancy, quite destitute of emotion, passion or creative energy. In the whole of it spontaneity and simplicity are sacrificed to the dominant mania for elegance and correctness.

Apart from these the moral tone of the literature was also at its lowest. Very much like the "restoration-immorality" the Nayaka-Bhed and Nakh-Shikh are also proverbial. If the rigid "puritanic religiosity" was responsible for "Restoration-immorility" it was our royal courts in India responsible for the other. Our poets chiefly lived in such royal courts, which had by now drunk deep the wine of degeneration and lust in the same glass of their Muslim conquerors. And a 'singing bird' of such a court could not afford to sing anything better or nobler.

But even this stage did not last long. With the fast changing political and social conditions the change in thought was also inevitable. Only a little below we see that now the course of the two currents was not exactly similar. But all the same their ultimate attainments

were something more than similar. Obviously people were sick of long continued artificiality. They began to crave for something more natural and spontaneous in thought and language. Side by side now there was a rapid growth of individualism and independence and naturally there was a craving to liberate the literature from 'Auguston bondage' and as such 'love of nature' was a natural consequence. In every phase of literature there was an effort to bring in a radical change: but such a change can come in only gradually. Hence in the age of Johnson we see a great 'conflict of the old and the new'. Then comes the age of wordsworth which is known in the history as the age of the 'Romantic revival.' Its object was to make literature a property of the common people as well and not merely of a learned few. "That poetry's standards were fixed long ago by certain inspired writers, whose authority it is no longer lawful to call in question, was no longer recognised as the cardinal principle of poetry. In its place the standard fixed now was as Keats says, "The genius of poetry must work out its own solution in a man. It cannot be matured by law and precept, but by sensation and watchfulness in itself. That which is creative must create itself." Now this was the stamp borne by every leaf of literature produced in this age.

'Chaos and Cosmos' is another inevitable law of nature. After these long periods of struggle and revolution peace and quiet was the need of the time. But this peace was not of a tired and spent up brain. It was a peace that one enjoys at the fullest attainment of one's ideal; such was the age of Tonnison. But as Bandes says, "The two great dominant movemants of the times were in the political and social spheres the progress of democracy and in the intellectual sphere the progress of science." It was no doubt an age of social interests and practical ideals. The writings of Carlyile and Ruskin and Mrs. Browning give us ample proof."

Meanwhile the progress of science kept pace with the progress of democracy. By now the ancient intellectual order was shaken at its foundation and this new age was marked by the spirit of enquiry and criticism; by scepticism and religious uncertainty and by spirtitual struggle and unrest. Under these existing circumstances the development of realism was one conspicuous result. But soon after it began to display too much of 'materialism' which necessitated the growth of a counter current to check it.

After covering this vast field of English literature so far, if we turn now to our own literature we shall see a further proof of the 'sameness of human nature.' A change in our political and social conditions had also commenced. The days of the old corrupt courts had passed away and with them the fondness for novel Nayikas. The first rays of awakening had reached us and this was the time when Hindi had assumed a graver and a more important air than continuing to be a thing of mere recreation. Raja Sheo Prasad and B. Harish Chandra were endowing it with a divine and patriotic spirit. And vigorous efforts towards self-emancipation were visible in every branch of our literature. But for the present social amelioration had occupied its attention more than any thing else. The 'criticism of Johnson' and the 'age of Romantic revival' was yet to come in our literature ; but not very late after. All this was a preparation to that end. The close contact of the west had its considerable influence. The present researches in Hindi literature and development of its various new branches are an outcome of the western influence, *e.g.*, the tendency of popularising our literature through magazines and journals. Hindi literature is although late in creating its great critic in Mahabir Prasad, Divedi, yet it is welcome—"better late than never." If Johnson had any hand in moulding the English literature, our critic had yet a greater hand in moulding the modern Hindi literature ; inasmuch as Johnson had so many to precede him while Divedi Ji had none. The resemblance being so huge and in so many respects, our touchstone could not be different from that of 'realism.' In this age of ours any and every piece of art and literature ; be it prose or poetry—is tested on this. Although 'Romance' has not quite vanished from our literature, yet its test is also 'realism' inspite of its being a romance. If it is not close to the real life, it may lose its high place. But this fondness for realism in Hindi literature has not yet reached its limit, *i.e.*, it has not yet degenerated into materialism.

So now casting a glance on the literary production of the two great literatures we do perceive that their currents and their flows have been very much similar ; even some of the periods ran almost parallel. But whenever they were not parallel at least the order of their succession was invariably the same. An undisputed similitude of this nature at last leaves us convinced of the fact that 'human nature is the same every where, and that 'great minds think alike.'

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad]

Assam University

A resolution strongly protesting against the proposal for a separate University in Assam and asking the members of legislature to oppose the University Bill was passed at an extraordinary general meeting of the Habiganj Pleaders' Bar Association.

Maratha University

A resolution urging the establishment of a Maratha University with colleges and other institutions affiliated to it, so as to give the fullest scope to the Marathas and meet their educational requirements was passed by the All-India Maratha Educational Conference under the presidency of His Highness the Maharajah of Sandur.

Grierson Commemoration Volume

The Vidyapati Hindi Sabha, Darbhanga, has resolved to publish a commemoration volume in memory of the late lamented Dr. Sir A. Grierson. Every body interested in the cause is requested to send all available materials to the Sabha office at an early date. The names of all such persons will be published.

Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University

At the annual meeting of the Aligarh Muslim University Court, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed was elected unanimously as Vice-Chancellor of the University. About 125 members attended.

During the course of the election some members put forward a plea that the election of Vice-Chancellor be postponed, but the proposal was turned down by an overwhelming majority, whereupon about thirty members staged a walk-out.

Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman Khan and Azmat Ilahi Zuberi were elected Honorary Treasurer and Registrar respectively.

Ramkrishna Medical Education Society

The Government of Bengal have sanctioned the payment to the Ramkrishna Medical Education Society of a grant of Rs. 5,000 towards the construction of the front block of the proposed building of the Society.

Plan for Indian War Museum

A *communique* states: The Government of India have decided to appoint a committee for the collection and organization of exhibits for an Indian War Museum to form a record of India's contribution to the war effort of the Empire. The trustees of the Imperial War Museum in the

United Kingdom, of whom Lord Birdwood is the India Office representative, have agreed to exchange with the Indian War Museum exhibits of mutual interest, and it is hoped similar agreements will be reached with representatives of the Dominions and of Allied Powers.

The collection is intended to be a record of the experiences and equipment of the armed forces of India, and also to illustrate such effects of the war on civil life in India as the industrial development and the development of civic guards, of air raid precautions, of war gifts and charities, of legislation, etc.

Exhibits will include articles of equipment issued to the armed forces and to civilian organizations, trophies captured from the enemy, models, drawings, photographs, and original documents. Gifts or loans from private donors will be welcomed.

Mr. R. C. Jeffreys, I.P., Under-Secretary, Defence Department of the Government of India, New Delhi, has been appointed Secretary to the committee of the Indian War Museum, and, pending the final constitution of the committee, is authorized to communicate with all authorities and persons who may be in a position to supply exhibits.

The Vincent Massey Scholarship

On the recommendation of the selection committee, His Excellency the Viceroy has awarded the Vincent Massey Scholarship for the year 1941-42 to Dr. Jaswant Rai Gadeock, M.B.B.S., of Lucknow University, for study of Pathology and Bacteriology.

Training of Air Force Mechanics

The scheme, under which the Civil Aviation Directorate will train 2,000 mechanics a year for the Indian Air Force, is now well under way with approximately 750 trainees distributed between centres in different parts of India.

In addition to those under training at the end of March, 1941, about 270 candidates had been enrolled and were awaiting posting to training centres, while a further 1,240 had been selected for interview by recruiting officers.

In order to accommodate the increasing number of trainees and provide training facilities for the total of 2,000, other centres will shortly be opened.

Although training has been in progress for only a short time, reports from the centres describe the results as "very satisfactory." College authorities have given enthusiastic co-operation and the trainees are showing great keenness. Much interest, however, has ensued from the careful planning of the syllabus and selection of the instructional staff and the immense amount of "ground work" which has been done during the past nine months in selecting and equipping the training centres and examining the applications of nearly 40,000 candidates.

The staff selected for the training centres are all highly qualified. The instructors on aircraft and engines are licensed aeronautical engineers who have been given an intensified course of instructional training at an Air Force Technical School.

While the object of the scheme is to provide a reserve of trained mechanics for the Air Force, the course of instruction has been so planned that it may count as engineering experience for the grant of a civil ground engineer's licence.

Research Committee at Patna

The constitution of a provincial Scientific and Industrial Research Committee of seven, with Sir Sultan Ahmed as Chairman and the Director of Industries as Secretary, is announced in a Government resolution.

The function of the Committee will be to bring to the notice of the Central Board of Scientific and Industrial Research problems that may arise or be proposed in its area with suggestions for investigations at laboratories.

The Committee will also advise the provincial Government on matters that arise out of the proceedings of the Central Board that are referred to it and make suggestions for further researches.

A New Vidya Mandir Scheme for C. P.

The problems presented by the "novel" scheme of "Vidya Mandir" are discussed in a press note, which states that it is impossible to predict at this stage how the scheme is going to work until the experience of its working for about three to five years is gained.

The problems, if they are not inherent in the scheme itself, may be tackled on the light of experience as they arise.

One difficulty inherent in the scheme arises from the fact that the scheme is based on a single teacher. The basic syllabus, however, which has been adopted in the "Vidya Mandir" requires more strenuous work from the teachers than was anticipated when the scheme was planned.

If, therefore, extra teachers are not supplied to the "Vidya Mandir" then education of the pupils attending them suffer; if extra teachers are provided the Vidya Mandir will be unable to exist on the income from its land which does not increase as the school expands.

Steps are now being taken to bring into force the "Vidya Mandir Act" which obtained the assent of the Governor in March, 1940. The Act could not be brought into force so far because receipts of "Vidya Mandirs" had to be placed into a common pool to minimise the total deficit. Such pooling of receipts has now been stopped.

Campbell Medical School

The students of the Campbell Medical School, Calcutta, will soon have two more hostels, one for Hindus and the other for Mohammedans. The Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal has proposed that two houses be rented for use as hostels for the students for one year in the first instance with effect from July. The houses will accommodate about 120 students each. The proposal has already been approved by the Government.

Miscellany

POLITICAL IMPERIALISM *VIS-A-VIS* IDEOLOGICAL IMPERIALISM

These Hindu spheres of influence were so many "Greater Indias" in Asia. The expansion of India consisted in the establishment of the ideological imperialism of Hindu cult and culture throughout the length and breadth of the Asian continent. These colonizing, missionizing or proselytizing enterprises of the Indians outside the Indian frontiers may be said to have commenced in the third century B.C. The active period of the *digvijaya* (world-conquest) or *charaiveti* (march on) of Hindu religion, arts and sciences continued until the thirteenth or fourteenth century. During these sixteen or seventeen hundred years India witnessed military-political vicissitudes of all sorts almost identical with those in contemporary Europe. The ideological dominations of the Hindus established in the different regions of Asia were not necessarily the functions of their military and political activities at home and abroad. This is an important item in connection with the ideological imperialism of the Hindus in ancient and medieval times which must never be lost sight of.

We have said before that the ideological empires of the world, *viz.*, Christianity, socialism etc , have no necessary connection with military-political imperialism. The two imperialisms are mainly independent of each other. If there is any contact between the two, that contact is often an accident. But, scientifically speaking, it is impossible to demonstrate that political imperialism has been the cause and the only cause of ideological imperialism. The same is to be observed about Hindu ideological imperialism *vis-à-vis* Hindu political activities. The Hindu conquests in Asia from one end to the other were in the main non-political, non-military. Our ancient Indian culture went to Japan and was accepted by Japan but the Japanese knew hardly anything of Indian political and military achievements If you take the case of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and other islands where Hindu culture still persists, you will find that they were not, if at all, under the political domination of the South Indian Cholas for any long period. Political imperialism was hardly ever the basis of the ideological imperialism established by the Hindus. Indeed, militaristic-political domination may be removed almost entirely from the picture. No matter how many large, medium or small states were being established on Indian soil during this millennium and a half, no matter how many times we were fighting among ourselves, the conquests made by Hinduism as a religion and as a culture were going on from one country to another. The authors of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, Manu and Kalidas were all the time conquering the world, very often supremely indifferent to the militaristic-political fortunes of their compatriots. The story of all these ideological imperialisms or dominations proves beyond question that almost invariably their progress is independent of political imperialisms or dominations. In order to be established as a dominant world-force an ideology does not have always to be backed up by a powerful political people or party. Indeed, the

opposite picture is prominent on several occasions when "captive Greece captured Rome." Even a political slave can ideologically conquer the master.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

PLUTOCRACY AND NOT DEMOCRACY

In G. T. Garratt's *Europe's Dance of Death* (London, 1940) democracy, as factually functioning in Great Britain during the last decade under Baldwin and Chamberlain, is considered to be essentially plutocratic. The influence of Lenin's "finance-capital" on the administrative system is too patent. The French democracy likewise is demonstrated to be equally if not more plutocratic. The steel magnates of the *Comite' des Forges* are some of the "two hundred families" which virtually rule France. In both these democracies public opinion is consciously or unconsciously nothing but the vested interests of a few powerful moneyed men. Newspapers are proved to be the organs of these few individuals. Political parties are likewise misnomers being virtually the salons of such dominant financiers and social despots.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

LABOUR AND LAND CHANGES DUE TO MECHANIZED AGRICULTURE

It is estimated that 350,000 to 500,000 farm workers will be displaced in the next decade, but the number of workers displaced by mechanization depends not only on the type of equipment but also on the kind of farm, says the *Agricultural Situation* (Washington, September, 1940). Displacement is not necessarily in proportion to the time saved on a specific job. On large farms operated with a flexible supply of hired labor, equipment that reduces the time of performing work by half may at the same time reduce the working force by half. But on the family farms the labor force represented by members of the family may not be reduced by labor-saving equipment. Less additional labor may be hired, but the actual reduction of workers would be considerably less than working time saved.

The influence of changes in equipment on the use of labor is more apparent when it is expressed in terms of the labor required to handle crops with different sets of complementing equipment, or in terms of the labor required to operate a farm of a given size and type with different sets of equipment. For instance, with the machinery and power in common use in the central winter wheat areas about the year 1900, the approximate time to prepare land, seed, harvest with a binder, shock, thresh, and haul wheat to the granary was 8.8 hours per acre. With the use of a tractor, tractor equipment, and a 12-foot combine, the time for comparable work was reduced to 3.3 hours. The time required for corn production in the Corn Belt was reduced from 15.1 hours to 6.9 hours an acre.

In the Corn Belt a shift to tractors, and to some extent to combines, reduced labor requirements for wheat nearly 5 hours an acre. One of the factors influencing the reduction in man-hours used per acre of other important crops is a gradual shifting of production to areas where less labor is used. This has been most pronounced in wheat and cotton.

No mechanical developments now under way seem likely to affect the use of labor in the near future as drastically or on as large a scale as did developments in wheat machinery in the 1920's. However, perfection and adoption of the cotton-picker or the use of sugar-beet tillage and harvesting machinery would have effects comparable to the recent mechanization of wheat production.

Although the small tractor placed in service on a livestock or general farm would reduce the time required for field labor, the usual adjustment of increasing the numbers of productive livestock as work stock are displaced would tend to maintain the total amount of labor used. Labor displacement in cash corn areas seems likely to continue, and in the cotton areas it may be large in proportion to the degree of mechanization.

The traditional plantation and share-cropper system of farm organization in parts of the South are passing even without the mechanical cotton-picker. Prices of cotton and wages of labor have given an income advantage to the operators using hired rather than share labor. The result has been an increase in the proportion of cotton grown with wage labor. This has been particularly true where additional economies in cost of operation could be achieved through the use of wage labor and power machinery.

On the plantations shifting toward mechanization during 1932-38, 36 tractors were put into use for each 10,000 crop acres; 91 families, or 22 per cent of the original number, were displaced from 10,000 acres of cropland. The second group, on which tractors per 10,000 crop acres increased from 18 in 1932 to 24 in 1938, displaced 65 families, or 16 per cent. The third group, on which tractors were not used, displaced 22 families, or 6 per cent.

The introduction of tractors in the South will release for other purposes land that has been used for corn, hay, and pasture for mule feed. Most of this land has grown corn. It may continue to grow feed for other livestock, but some of it may be shifted to cash crops. The relative profitableness of the different alternatives and the extent to which special inducements are provided for shifting will determine the choice.

Further adoption of tractors and complementary equipment in the North Atlantic States will release land formerly used to produce feed for work stock and make it available for other uses. In view of the importance of dairying and the relative shortage of feed crops, it seems likely that a large part of the released land will be used to produce feed for dairy cattle.

The probable shift to more dairy feed resulting from mechanization must also be relative to the adoption of soil-improvement practices. The agricultural conservation program appears to have encouraged dairymen to step up the normal rate of adoption of soil-improvement practices. In other words, the conservation program seems to be hastening a desirable adjustment, but it is an adjustment which means more dairy feed. Increased use of lime and fertilizer is bound to affect hay and pasture yields over a period of years.

What are the implications of such changes? Will it mean too much milk? Will farmers really adjust their rations to take advantage of increased home-produced feed? Perhaps not, for some recent farm records indicate that dairymen are slow to adjust their purchases of grain when more roughage is available.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

India Shall Be Literate.—By Frank C. Laubach. Printed by F. E. Livengood at the Mission Press, Jubbulpore, C. I., India. 1940. Price Re. 1-12.

The work under review has been sponsored by the National Christian Council, Nagpur, C. I. It was written by Dr. Laubach in the Phillippines and was slightly changed by Rev. E. W. Menzel who acted as field-editor checking up facts and figures and adding a few words by way of bringing the book up to date.

Dr. Laubach has greatly stimulated the spread of literacy among India's masses by his visits to this country. His methods explained in the present work have provided a psychological and practical basis for dealing with adult illterates who are able under his system to take long strides towards acquiring mental equipment so that, as it has been well said, 'this month's illiterate can become next month's proud "man of letters".'

We are shown the colossal problem of literacy in India and also the futility of the slow progress achieved in the normal course. Nearly one-third of all the illiterates in the world live in this country. The cause of democracy and that of literacy are so closely linked together that the one cannot succeed without the other. The fact was appreciated by the Congress ministries when they launched their literacy campaign in different parts of India. A short chapter in the present work deals with the history of Adult Literacy in India. This movement has no long history. The largest intensive adult literacy campaign began in the Punjab in 1921. The Congress Government was responsible for a literacy movement on the widest scale ever known in this country. The book proceeds to discuss various methods found useful in imparting instruction such as the alphabet method, the story method, the key-word method. Key words and pictures proved both popular and successful on experiment but others like the picture—word—syllable method have also been found serviceable. The book contains many practical suggestions for field workers. Dr. Laubach's long experience and insight are everywhere seen in the light that he throws upon the problem. It is clear that he has understood the nature of India's educational needs. The observations he offers are always sane and helpful and give evidence of a large and resourceful mind. This is a book which is invaluable to every one interested in removing the appalling illiteracy of India.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

India: Bond or Free ? A World Problem.—By Annie Besant, D.L. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Pp. 246. Price As. 14.

Dr. Besant's name acquired almost a magical potency in India in the days when she inaugurated the Home Rule Movement and although in later years the popularity of Gandhiji's doctrine of non-co-operation threw her teaching into the shade, her personal fame and the sincerity of her intention remained unaffected by all the mutations in India's political life.

She came out to this country in 1893 and lived here until her end some years ago. During all this time she worked strenuously to awaken India from her slumber by reviving her culture and religion and by urging the necessity of Home Rule for India in her speeches and writings as the sole remedy for the misery into which her multitudes are plunged.

In "India: Bond or Free?" Dr. Besant is able to show with the help of a convincing body of evidence that "England found India an educated nation and has reduced her masses to illiteracy, that England found the Indian people free, prosperous and rich, and has reduced her to terrible poverty." England in governing India did not care to remember what Woodrow Wilson had said and her own statesmen admitted, namely, that every nation must constantly keep in touch with its Past. The Village System in India had an uninterrupted history of thousands of years. The occasional raids into the country by foreigners, the fall of a dynasty or the rise of a new one only touched the fringe of her life. These great political changes scarcely had any repercussion in the villages which carried on their normal activity under a system of wise rural economy, providing for the masses all the necessaries of life and an education which was accessible to all. This system was swept away by the British Rule and nothing was put in its place. From this wanton destruction of the Panchayat, looking after the interests of the villagers, with knowledge, foresight, and ability, has flowed countless evils which can be removed only by making India an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Dr. Besant has collected evidence from both ancient and modern sources to show that this country has through her long history never suffered from poverty or famine—that it was only with the advent of the British that its economic distress began and that India is slowly wasting away and will inevitably perish unless she regains the right to rule herself. There is no question that she lacks the ability to do so. For Sir John Lawrence said as long ago as 1865, "The people of India are quite capable of administering their own affairs and the municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them."

In describing the poverty in India Dr. Besant quotes the view of Sir Charles Elliot according to whom seventy millions of peoples in India do not know what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied even once in the whole course of the year yet Phillimore said of India in the 18th century that "the dropping of her soil fed distant regions." From the evidence of Sir Thomas Munro before a Committee of the British Houses of Parliament in March and April, 1813, quoted by Dr. Besant we get a very clear idea about the social and economic condition of the country at that date,"..... if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect, and delicacy, are amongst the signs which denote a civilized people—then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe." Light is thrown on how some of India's industries were destroyed. Indian built ships, carrying Indian produce, we are told, "created a sensation among the monopolists which could not have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames .....an obliging Government saw to it that the Indian industry perished."

Britain's record in India as patron of education is also shown by Dr. Besant. The expenditure per head on education in England and Wales is 10*s*., in India, barely 1*d*.!

Dr. Besant has repeatedly quoted Asquith's words as to the "intolerable degradation of a foreign rule" and in her close analysis of India's past and present socio-economic life, she has shown how there has been a decline in every sphere of life in India as a result of British rule. Dr. Besant had a profound knowledge and understanding of Indian conditions and her book would be an invaluable guide to those who wish to hear sober good sense combined with the widest information and sympathy on things Indian. The book is written in a lucid style and is convincing in its exposition. Even well-informed Indians will have much to learn from it.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The High Purposes of War.—By Annie Besant, D. L. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Pp. 110. 1940. Price As. 8.

The booklet contains passages taken out of Dr. Besant's speeches and writings during the last European War in which she has endeavoured to offer her interpretation of the War aims of the Allied Powers. It cannot be said that the events proved the truth of her assertions. Her ideas are nevertheless inspiring and may be applied to any war which seeks to make right triumphant over might. Her message has not lost its force although the occasion which called it forth has long disappeared.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Truth About Gandhi.—Printed at Mody's Diamond Printing Works, 164, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 87.

In these days when the Gandhian leadership is being challenged from many quarters, it is refreshing to come across a sturdy exposition of the Gandhian creed and the Gandhian outlook from a presumably disinterested source. The mission of the greatest apostle of peace in modern times is explained with the help of copious and carefully selected extracts from the writings of the Mahatma which materially increase the value of this book. Obviously, the limits the author has set himself preclude discussion in any except the barest outline of Gandhiji's philosophy. I commend this book to all desirous of familiarising themselves with Gandhism as interpreted by an earnest follower of Mahatma Gandhi.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Kavyanusasana: by Ācārya Hema-candra, Vol. II. Part I (*Introduction*), by Rasiklal C. Parikh, late Professor of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History at the Gujarat Vidyapith, Secretary to the Post-Graduate and Research Department of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad; Part II (*Notes on the Text*), by Ramchandra B. Athavale, Professor of Sanskrit, S. L. D. Arts College, Ahmedabad. With a *Foreword* by Dr. Anandshankar B. Dhruva, late of Benares Hindu University. Published by the Honorary Secretaries, Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya, Vidyalaya Buildings, Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay 7. 1938. Price Rs. 6 for the two volumes.

Kalikāla-sarvajña—'the omniscient of the *Kali* Age'—Ācārya Hema-candra or Hema-candra Suri (1089-1173 A.D.) was one of the greatest scholars and religious men of Gujarat and India whose achievements have added lustre to the Sanskrit scholarship of Medieval India and to the Jaina religion in both its philosophical and devotional sides. The ordinary student of Sanskrit and Indology sees in him primarily a philologist—a great grammarian, lexicographer and rhetorician, and naturally his work as a Jaina teacher has its restricted appeal to those who are interested in Jaina history, hagiology and philosophy. Hema-candra's works on grammar, metrics and lexicographpy and on rhetoric are all authoritative and are widely studied, and he has a special eminence as a grammarian of Prakrit and as the compiler of the celebrated *Deśi-nāma-mālā*. The anthology of Western Apabhraṃśa popular poetry given in his Prakrit grammar is something unique in Indian literature and is of inestimable value in the study of the development of New Indo-Aryan. Hema-candra's work on rhetoric, the *Kāvyānuśāsana*, has been republished, since its first publication in the Bombay Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press edition, in a splendid form by Professor Rasiklal Parikh. The text has appeared with the connected commentaries and glosses in the first volume; and in the second volume under review, which is of more general interest, and is in English, Professor Parikh has given his *Introduction* to the work, in two parts, both equally valuable—the first part gives a History of Gujarat as a Background to the Life and Times of Hema-candra. The First Half of this second volume (over 300 pages) is taken up with this *Introduction*, and the Second Half (some 276 pages) gives *Notes* in English by Professor Ramchandra Athavale. These two volumes, it may be hoped, give the text of the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and a good deal of ancillary material for the study of the work in a definitive form for some time to come; and they form a very fine expression of Sanskrit and Indological scholarship of Gujarat and Western India at the present day.

We are not so familiar with the philosophical and devotional writings of Hema-candra, unless we are specially interested in Jaina philosophy and religion. The voluminous character of a work like his *Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākāpuruṣa-Carita* or 'Lives of the Sixty-three Excellent Men' perhaps forms a drawback, but a good edition of it is a desideratum. One of Hema-candra's philosophical works, the *Pramāṇa-mīmāṁsā*, has been brought out recently in a learned edition with Hindi translation by Pandit Sri Sukhlalji Sanghavi in the well-known *Singhi Jaina Series*. The *Vītarāga-stotra*, Jaina devotional and philosophical poems of a rare beauty, should also be made available in a critical and annotated edition.

The present reviewer is not a specialist in Sanskrit literature, much less in Sanskrit rhetoric, and he will not try to appraise this work and its value for the study of the subject. The editing appears to have been done carefully, basing the text on very good MS. material and on the printed text as issued from the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, and adding helpful notes and a number of appendices. Professor Athavale's *Notes* appear to be full and detailed, and will certainly be a great help in the critical study of the book. The reviewer feels particularly grateful for Professor Parikh's general *Introductions*. The history of Gujarat from the earliest times to the age of Hema-candra, which synchronised with the rule of two puissant and illustrious Kings of that part of India, *viz.*, Siddha-rāja Jaya-siṃha (1094-1143) and his successor Kumāra-pāla (1143-1174 A.D.). This forms a valuable bit of historical research, giving in a continuous narrative the history up to the end of the 12th century of an important Indian province,

and I think, with the mass of information gathered in it from both literary and epigraphical sources, it may conveniently to be published as a separate book. Professor Parikh shows how the present-day Gujarat tract includes the ancient territories Lāṭa or Aparānta, Śvabhra, Ānarta and Surāṣṭra. The name *Lāṭa* which as Professor Parikh says means the southern part of mainland Gujarat (to the east of the Gulf of Cambay) undoubtedly had a much wider application in very ancient times. It included doubtless both mainland Gujarat and peninsular Gujarat, now called *Kāṭhiyāwāḍ* and *Soraṭh* (=*Saurāṣṭra*), for the Greeks round about the time of Christ knew Kathiawad as *Larikē* (from=**Lāḍikā*, *Lāṭikā*=*Lāṭa*), the capital of which was *Barakhē* (=*Dvārakā*, with the characteristic South-Western Prakrit change of *dv-* to *b-* recorded by the Greeks). And it is not unlikely that the name *Lāṭa* extended even to South Sindh in ancient times: for at the present day the southern part of Sindh which is contiguous to Cutch and is in close proximity to Gujarat is still known as *Lāḍ* or *Lāṛ*. About the ancient maritime activities of *Lāṭa* or Gujarat, Professor Parikh has something to say, of course, but this matter might have been treated in greater detail. In this connexion, I may state that in my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (Calcutta, 1926, pp. 72,73,176) I expressed the opinion that Vijaya-siṁha and his companions, who stand for the Aryan-speaking colonists who established the Aryan language in Ceylon, were from Gujarat rather than Bengal, my grounds being partly the references in the old Pali texts and partly linguistic.

The history is detailed forth from Maurya times, through the Bactro-Greek and Śaka periods, the period of the Gupta Empire and the post-Gupta dynasties—the Valabhi Kingdom, the Bhinnamāla Kingdom and the Aṇahillapura Kingdom under the Cāvaḍas and the Cālukyas, the latter dynstay being in possession when Hema-candra lived. Naturally Siddha-rāja Jaya-siṁha and Kumāra-pāla are given fuller treatment. Siddha-rāja Jaya-siṁha, who is still a popular hero of Gujarat living in the folk drama performed by the Bhavaiyās or actors as *Sadhāro Je-saṅg*, was a remarkable ruler whose name was made known to the outside world by Forbes in his *Rās Mālā* as early as 1856. His connexion with Hema-candra and other Jaina writers has been the reason of his being gratefully remembered by them in their works, and Hema-candra called his great Sanskrit grammar after his patron. Siddha-rāja conquered Mālava and established himself as paramount ruler over the whole of Gujarat. He was a Śaiva, but he endeared himself to Jainas also. Kumāra-pāla showed his preference for the Jaina faith and accepted Hema-candra as his *guru*, but he continued his patronage to the Śaiva faith of his fathers while promulgating some Jaina ideas and ways of life in his kingdom. His reign was certainly the golden age for Jainism in medieval times in Western India.

Professor Parikh should bring down the history to the establishment of Muhammadan rule in Gujarat, developing in full what he has given in outline. And I would suggest a thorough rearrangement of the material he has got ready, presenting it in proper form with such typographical and other aids to good lay-out of his facts as can make it easy to follow and appreciate.

In 1889, Georg Bühler published from Vienna his monograph on Hema-candra. It was a great study of a great scholar and religious leader and of his work, and it has quite deservedly been rendered into English by Dr. Manilal Patel and issued in the *Singhi Jaina Series* in 1936. Professor Parikh, following Muni Jina-vijayaji in his Preface to Patel's

translation of Bühler's Hema-candra as general Editor of the *Singhi Jaina Series*, has mentioned new sources for the life and works of Hema-candra which have come to light since 1889 and has corrected some of the views and opinions of Bühler himself. Professor Parikh mentions these new sources, and he gives his own review of the life and works of Hema-candra, with a detailed study of the *Kāvyānuśāṣana*. I think Professor Parikh ought to give us a complete book on Hema-candra embodying all up-to-date information about him and giving descriptive and critical accounts of all his works, and studying him with reference to his own times and to the history of the Jaina Church as a whole. Such a work will have its permanent place in the history of Indian literature and culture, and Professor Parikh, with proper attention to the manner of presenting his facts and his views, should take it up—he has shown in the present volume, which gives us the most up-to-date information about the early history of Gujarat and about Hema-candra and his life and work, that he has both the equipment and the capacity to do it.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Ourselves

[I. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.—II. Prof. Bireschandra Guha.—III. Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghose Lectures.—IV. Asutosh College, Chittagong.—V. Indian School Sports Association.—VI. The Tagore Law Lectures for 1941.—VII. Government on discipline in Colleges —VIII. University Training Corps.—IX. A. H. College, Bogra.—X. Jagannath Barua College, Jorhat.]

I. Sir S. Radhakrishnan

In a letter which Sir S. Radhakrishnan wrote to University, he explained the circumstances which made it necessary for him to resign his post as the George V Professor of Philosophy and added: "If in the course of my service here (The University of Calcutta) such coveted distinctions as the Hibbert Lectureship, an Oxford Chair, Fellowship of the British Academy and Fellowship of All Souls at Oxford came my way, the credit is due mainly to the facilities offered and the encouragement given to me by the University authorities from the time of the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who selected me for this post in 1920."

The Syndicate in accepting the letter of resignation placed on record their deep appreciation of the services rendered to the University by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, one of the most inspiring teachers of the University and recommended to the Senate that he may be appointed Emeritus Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy of the University with effect from 1st July, 1941.

Sir Sarvapalli was entertained at a dinner by the Arts Faculty Club, of which he was the Founder-President, on the eve of his departure. Sir Sarvapalli said in an address which he gave to the members that his association with the University would not be severed although he was leaving for Benares and that during the next six months he expected to visit Calcutta twice every month in connexion with some business in the University. He gave very high praise to the intellectual atmosphere of the University and suggested what teachers could do to give a shape and direction to the wider life of the country.

The staff and students of the Post-Graduate Department organised a meeting to bid him farewell. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., D. Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., presided. There was a very large and

distinguished gathering and many speakers paid tribute to Sir S. Radhakrishnan's inspiring character and profound learning.

Sir Sarvapalli has brought fame to our University by his illuminating expositions of Indian philosophy as well as by his own original views which by their breadth and comprehensiveness have justly earned the admiration of the world. Professor Joad's books on him testify to the enthusiastic reception accorded to him in the West.

* * *

II. Prof. Bireschandra Guha

Prof. Bireschandra Guha, Ph.D., D.Sc. (Lond.), has been recommended by the Syndicate to be re-appointed Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry on the expiry of his present term of appointment till he completes his sixtieth year.

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III. Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghose Lectures

Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D., Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghose Lecturer, will deliver his lectures in August next.

* * *

IV. Asutosh College, Chittagong

Sir Asutosh College, Kanungopara (Chittagong), has been recommended to be affiliated to the I.A. and B.A. (Pass) standards in the following subjects in addition to those it is already teaching, from the commencement of the session 1941-42:—

I.A.—Pali ; B.A. (Pass)—English, Bengali, Mathematics, History, Economics and Political Philosophy, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic.

* * *

V. Indian School Sports Association

Rev. Allan Cameron, M.A., B.D., has been appointed a representative of the University on the General Committee of the Indian School Sports Association, Calcutta.

VI. The Tagore Law Lectures for 1941

Sir N. N. Sircar, who has been appointed Tagore Law Professor for 1941 to deliver a course of twelve lectures on "The Law of Arbitration with special reference to British India," requested that the subject might be changed to "The Law of Arbitration in British India."

The University has given its consent to the change proposed by Sir Nripendranath.

* * *

VII. Government on Discipline in Colleges

The Education Department, Government of Bengal, has proposed that the Principals of colleges managed or aided by Government, may be authorised to issue Transfer Certificates without transfer fees to students whose presence in the college is undesirable. This power which will be resorted to very sparingly will be utilised in maintaining discipline in the colleges.

The University has informed Government that it is prepared to accept the suggestion provided the action taken against the student or students concerned is approved by the Governing Body of the college and the matter reported to the University with a brief statement of the case. The reason for the transfer, our University has suggested, should in each case, be clearly stated in the Transfer Certificates.

* * *

VIII. University Training Corps

The University has recommended extension of Command of 2nd (Calcutta) Bn. U.T.C., I.T.F., by Major D. N. Bhattacharyya whose office will expire on the 16th April, 1941.

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IX. A. H. College, Bogra

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate that in extension of affiliation already granted to the A. H. College, Bogra, it may be

affiliated in the following subjects to the I.A. and B.A. standards with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42:—

I.A.—A Special Period of the History of the Hindu Colonial Expansion and a Special Period of the History of Islam Outside India. B.A.—English (Pass), Political Economy and Political Philosophy (Honours), Bengali (Compulsory), History (Pass), Mental and Moral Philosophy (Pass), and Islamic History and Culture (Honours).

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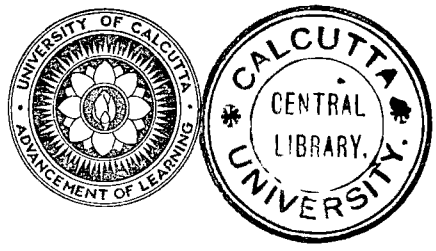
X. Jagannath Barua College, Jorhat

The Jagannath Barua College, Jorhat, has been recommended to be affiliated in the following subjects to the B Com. standard in addition to those it is already teaching with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42:—

English, Assamese, Accountancy, Commercial Geography, General Economics, Indian Economics, Commercial Law, Business Organisation, Advanced Accountancy and Auditing, Currency and Banking.



THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1941

GANDHIJI'S CONCEPTION OF APPLIED CHRISTIANITY UNDER MODERN CONDITIONS

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THE Sermon on the Mount, the life and death of Jesus summon humanity to a life of wholesome poverty with simplicity as its keynote and inspiration. This does not in any sense imply that destitution which leads to demoralisation. The disciples of Jesus are expected to have an implicit faith in the goodness of God and in His love for His children. They must identify themselves with man to the extent that they will meet wrong and oppression from all quarters with invincible patience and love. They have to take for granted that their success in winning over their opponents is certain provided they are prepared to suffer and die rather than meet violence by violence. Success is sure because in adopting this method, they are following God's way which is to change wicked into good men by the help of divine love. It is in this way only that they can realise the supreme aim of humanity—the winning of life eternal.

Most unfortunately very few of the followers of Jesus seem to have assimilated and acted on this precept. There are certain passages even in the New Testament which may be interpreted to mean that it is the function of God and the State to use violence as a justifiable way of meeting violence though individual Christians are forbidden to do so. When states came to be governed by Christian rulers, they adopted this principle the more so because it squared completely with their own predilections and offered a satisfactory way of meeting political discontent and quelling armed resistance to their authority.

Many Christians are not aware that in the first three centuries the Christian Church which still felt the glow and warmth of its proximity to the Lord and Master, his immediate followers and those who had come under the influence of the latter, did not countenance war. We are told that during this period, many Christians were put to death because they refused to join the army. I am also informed that the earlier race of the apologists of Christianity such as Justin, Martyr, Tertullian, Clement, Origen and Lactantius as well as others whose names I am unable to recollect held that taking part in fighting is inconsistent with professing the faith of the Prince of Peace.

But this faithful following of the teachings of Jesus was gradually replaced by a compromise with the demands of secularism so that to-day we find a number of established Churches in the West which are divided among themselves on account of differences in their theological doctrines. But in spite of these differences, they are all or nearly all united in countenancing the use of force for the defence of what they consider right. It has of course to be remembered that they may and do occasionally differ with regard to the interpretation they put on "right." But the fundamental fact which is of interest to us is that the use of force under these circumstances has obtained the official sanction of some, if not all, the organised Christian Churches. Who does not remember the clergy of the different contending countries offering prayers for the success of the arms of their armies? This happened not so very long ago during the last war and is probably happening to-day.

Let us be fair and admit that there have been many men of God whom I would describe as His saints, who have practised what National India calls *Ahimsa* in their daily lives but the glorious example they have set has not been followed to any appreciably large

extent. These have been as voices crying in the wilderness either unheeded or misinterpreted when heard. It is, therefore, that Western organised Christianity has been described by one of its critics as a religion "smothered" by the vested interests which, like weeds, have checked its growth.

And what was the attitude of Christ whom Mahatma Gandhi has called "the Prince of Satyagrahis" in the matter of non-violence? In order to arrive at a correct view, we must turn to his own pronouncements and, particularly, to the Sermon on the Mount as recorded by his immediate disciples where the fundamental teachings of the Lord and Master are fully set forth. These words which have rung down the ages and which have been an inspiration and a principle of action with every one of his sincere and genuine followers are as follows: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also."

It may be said here that so desperately wicked is the human heart that when one tooth only is knocked out, man's natural inclination is to knock out as many of his oppressor's teeth as he may be able to do. The Jewish law held that this attitude is unjust and it, therefore, limited the retaliation to knocking out "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Jesus standing on a higher plane and preaching higher ideals forbade revenge altogether. He commanded his disciples not to resist evil but to meet it by active love or *Ahimsa* as Gandhi calls it. Passive resistance would say that if a man smites you on one cheek, do not resist him when he smites you on the other cheek. But Christ says "turn to him the other also." In offering the other cheek for a blow, the genuine follower of Christ deprives his opponent of the advantages accruing from taking the offensive, selects his own battle-ground and chooses his own weapons for conducting this novel type of warfare. The oppressor is faced with a technique with which he is totally unfamiliar and is asked to handle a weapon to the use of which he is a stranger. This cannot but nonpluss him. And this weapon can be used under all conditions and at all times. We are told that Christ was struck at the Judgment Hall. We must all admit that he was fully justified in striking back. In refraining from doing so, the Lord and Master was showing by deeds his strict adherence to the principles he had asked his disciples to follow.

Mahatma Gandhi referred to this aspect of the matter many years ago when in the " Young India " for October 8, 1925, he said, " I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper-edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first puzzle him and at last compel recognition, which recognition would not humiliate, but would uplift him. It may be urged that this is an ideal state. And so it is."

Where will one see to-day a more faithful follower of Christ than our national leader who has all along been true to the principles laid down by our Lord and Master. Has he not more than once called off the Civil Disobedience Movement and characterised it as a " Himalayan " blunder when his followers departed from these Christian principles?

That the non-violence of Christ was in a sense militant may be inferred from the fact that when the time came for ending his pilgrimage in this world, he went to Jerusalem in order to be present at the Passover though aware all the time that he was going to his death. The risk involved in doing so was not only known to himself but also to his disciples for St. Mark says, " Jesus was going before them: and they were amazed ; and they that followed were afraid." Here we have a picture of the Lord and Master going forward to meet a cruel, agonising death without the slightest hesitation. This, in my view, was due to genuine fearlessness, absolute reliance on God coupled with a sense of duty, for are we not told that in the agony at Gethsemane he had prayed: " O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt." There is an echo of this in Mahatma Gandhi's dictum, " To the God-fearing death has no terrors. Bravery on the battlefield is impossible for us. But fearlessness is absolutely necessary, the abandonment of all fear of bodily injury, of disease or death, of the loss of possessions, of family or of reputation. Nothing in this world is ours. *Ahimsa* requires true humility, for it is reliance not on self, but on God alone."

Let us make an attempt to clarify the position a little further. In the Bible, we are told that his disciple Peter cut off the ear of the servant of the High Priest who was one of those who had come to arrest him thus using the same weapons which his enemies were prepared to use. Jesus rebuked Peter saying, " They that take

the sword shall perish by the sword." These people had come to take him to his doom and the surprising thing is that it was he who condemned them to death. Was the Lord and Master referring to the siege of Jerusalem by the Roman army under Titus when thousands of Jews met with death under exceptionally cruel circumstances ?

But the matter did not end there, for he returned good for evil by healing the wounded man. The helpless prisoner becomes, for the time being, the giver of bounty and that not to a friend or a well-wisher but to one of his persecutors. Taken before Pilate who tried, as far as he dared, to save Jesus, he "answered him never a word" to his numerous questions. Pilate called him a just man and refused to have anything to do with his death in proof of which he went through the symbolical ceremony of washing his hands because in the language of the Scriptures "he was the more afraid." When on the Cross, he did not ask mercy for himself but forgiveness for those who did not know what they were doing.

Let us not forget in this connection that Jesus believed what he said when he observed: "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels ?" Believing as Jesus did that he could always summon supernatural agencies to his aid, and that he refrained from doing so up to the very end, preferring to rely on the example he had set for influencing the future conduct of mankind, does it not seem that Mahatma Gandhi has caught the very spirit of Christ when he laid down the law for the true *Satyagrahi* in the following terms ? "*Ahimsa* means the largest love. It is the supreme law. By it alone can mankind be saved." And again "Non-violence is the weapon of the strongest and the bravest. The true man of God has the strength to use the sword, but will not use it, knowing that every man is the image of God." Here we have the highest and best example of *Ahimsa* or active love resisting evil in the most effective of ways but without deviating from its ideals even to the slightest extent. It is, therefore, that a Christian thinker has given it as his considered opinion that "the willingness to encounter opposition is the very breath of the Christian life. If the Cross means anything, it means that."

The conscious acceptance of a cruel death by Jesus which I regard as the supreme instance of *Satyagraha*, carried along with it the whole-

hearted and cheerful adoption of certain principles which may be regarded as forming the basis of *Ahimsa* in thought and in action. The Lord and Master had faith in the guidance of God in every one of his acts and he regarded Him as the Controller of his fate. According to the Gospel of St. Luke, Christ accepted this guidance of God even when he was not in a position to comprehend its necessity or meaning for he is reported to have prayed: "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine be done." The intensity of the spiritual struggle he was undergoing was such that we are told that even after an angel from heaven had appeared and strengthened him, "being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly, and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground." It was this faith in God which enabled him to submit to God's guidance.

We are told by Dr. John R. Mott, the President of the World Missionary Conference, who is probably the most outstanding figure in the Christian world to-day, that when he inquired of Mahatma Gandhi as to what had brought him the deepest satisfaction and the greatest consolation whenever he was faced by difficulties, doubts and despair, the answer he received was "Living faith in God." Continuing Gandhiji is reported to have said that if a man dedicates himself to doing the will of God as revealed to him, God Himself will give him all the guidance, that may be necessary. Alluding to his personal experience of God's guidance Mahatma Gandhi observed, "I have never found Him lacking in response. I have found Him nearest at hand when the horizon seemed darkest in my ordeals in gaols, when it was not all smooth sailing for me. I cannot recall a moment in my life when I had a sense of desertion by God." It is not, therefore, strange that when in the course of this interview with Dr. Mott he was asked as to whether the social, the political or the religious motive controlled his activities, he observed, "My motive has been purely religious . . . I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind: and this I could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities to-day constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, political and purely religious work into water-tight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a thing of 'sound and fury, signifying nothing.'"

The other equally fundamental fact on which the attention of the world is focussed by the example set by Christ is that the human heart must respond to sympathy and love. An English critic of this technique has observed that *Ahimsa* resembles a pair of scissors with its two blades, the *Satyagrahi* and that of his oppressor. His view is that this method has succeeded with the British administration in India not merely because the Indian *Satyagrahi* has, on the whole, observed the rules of its use as laid down by Mahatma Gandhi but also because the British are, on the whole, a people who love justice and fair play and who feel an innate objection to witnessing the sufferings of humanity. The force of this argument seems to depend on the assumption that the British are superior to other nations as for instance the Fascist or the Nazi nations so far as their national moral code is concerned. Mahatma Gandhi and his followers hold a different opinion. They maintain that however cruel the oppressor, if *Ahimsa* or love of the active variety contemplated in *Satyagraha* is expressed in such a manner as to impress the opponent, it is a certainty that he must return that love. The nation to which he belongs will not make any difference for even the cruellest of men can be conquered by love.

Under these circumstances, it has to be admitted that *Ahimsa* or *Satyagraha* is a definitely Christian method of settling differences and righting wrongs. While ordinarily, we attempt to achieve our purpose by attacking our opponent, in *Satyagraha* we try to do the same thing by, so to say, attacking ourselves. Mahatma Gandhi has said, "In *Satyagraha*, we expect to win over our opponents by self-suffering, that is by love." It is something more than passive suffering and may rightly be regarded as an adventure in love which not only does not even dream of destroying the opponents but, on the contrary, of bringing about a radical change of heart in him so that he becomes a better and a more spiritual man than he was before. If, on the one hand, it is a protest against the continuance and practice of an evil way, it is also a protest which has consciously abrogated the use of violence in thought, word and deed. Even Napoleon recognised the superior utility of this method for in Emil Ludwig's study we find him saying, " There are only two powers in the world, the spirit and the sword. In the long run, the sword will always be conquered by the spirit."

It is therefore that Gandhiji has said, " If blood be shed, let it be our blood. Cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing,"

And again, " Human nature is in its essence one, and therefore the aggressor unfailingly responds (that is, in the end) to the advances of love." The essential to success is an undying faith in the radical goodness of human nature. Only those who have lost this faith have recourse to violence as a means to achieving their ends. As against this, the true *Satyagrahi* believes in man to the very end, makes his appeal to even the most depraved and wicked among men in the hope that, in the long run, it must evoke a corresponding feeling. Let me, as a Christian, state here that the response in every age from every part of the world and from every nation of the earth which this message of Christ has called forth bears ample testimony to the correctness of this opinion.

The explanation for this is found in the statement of Mahatma Gandhi that " Religion is not a thing alien to us: it has to be evoked out of us. It is always within us ; with some, consciously so, with others quite unconsciously. But it is always there." The adoption of *Ahimsa* as the most satisfactory way of meeting oppression will be possible only when man has come to realise the presence of this divine element in him. The *Satyagrahi* calls forth this innate divinity of man which is lying dormant by his willing acceptance of suffering, and this can be done only if he possess sufficient courage and patience " to endure unto the end."

From a time when history as such was unknown, this method of overcoming evil was preached by the great teachers of mankind. After Christianity had come to be recognised as one of the world religions, the same lesson has been emphasised by many of the followers of Christ. Such a follower of Christ was St. Francis of Assissi who lived in this world in the 13th century. We have the account of his seeking audience with the Sultan of Egypt at a time when war was going on between all the prominent Christian nations of the West and the Mahomedan powers under the leadership of this potentate. His plan was to bring this struggle to an end in a peaceful way. It is no doubt true that his efforts were not crowned with the success they so righly deserved. At the same time, we should not forget that blood thirsty and cruel as the Muslims were reputed to be, the Sultan showed him every possible consideration and gave him an opportunity of pleading his cause.

James Naylor, who lived in the 17th century was a Quaker, who had his tongue bored through and through with a red-hot iron

after which he was pilloried. Then came whipping at the cart's tail through the streets of London by the hangman after which his forehead was branded with the letter "B" as he had been condemned as a blasphemer. The cup of punishment was full when he was put to solitary confinement without ink and paper till such time as Parliament took pity on him and gave him his release by legislation. And yet so filled was this man with the spirit of Christ, with *Ahimsa-Satyagraha,* that even after such inhuman treatment he could write as follows:—

" There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end; its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other. If it be betrayed it bears it ; for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned ; it takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow and brought forth without any to pity it ; nor does it ever murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings ; for with the world's joy it is murdered I found it alone, being forsaken ; I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life."

In the 18th century we have John Woolman, another well-known and saintly Quaker, who, learning that the Red Indians were murdering the colonial settlers under the impulse of what he calls " a pure moving of love " in his Journal, paid a visit to these blood-thirsty savages. His intention in his own language was " to feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if haply he might receive some instruction from them, or they might be in any degree helped forward by his following the leadings of truth among them." He came across a war party and persuaded them to give him a hearing in the course of which he informed them why he had come to pay them a visit concluding with a brief prayer which he offered to God. It was on this occasion that one of the Red Indian chiefs

observed, " I love to feel where words come from " and persuaded his companions to make peace with the whites.

With such examples before us, we cannot but regard Christ as on the side of those who meet oppression by *Ahimsa* and we also maintain that the following of this path is not an impossibility for man. In our own country, the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi may be regarded as a re-interpretation of this message of Christ once more bringing into prominence its importance in the present-day world. While it is not held that we have here an absolute identity of the methods and teachings of these teachers of mankind, I do maintain that there is sufficient resemblance between the two to warrant us in holding that the same love animates both with the spirit which we find in our All-Father who is equally kind to the virtuous and to the wicked. It was only the other day that Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged his indebtedness to the teachings of Chirst in the following terms:—" Though I cannot claim to be a Christian in the sectarian sense, the example of Jesus suffering is a factor in the composition of my undying faith in non-violence, which rules all my actions, worldly and temporal . . . . . Jesus lived and died in vain if He did not teach us to regulate whole of life by the eternal law of love."

Everyone who had made a close study of the life and writings of Mahatma Gandhi is aware that the idea of self-sacrifice leading to self-purification is always present in them. In one memorable passage dealing with this aspect of his teaching he has said, " God insists on purity of the cause and an adequate sacrifice therefor." The adoption of this truly Christian principle was recognised in an article entitled "The Significance of Gandhi" which appeared in "The Church Times." Here the writer observed, "In Russia a new society is being evolved with persecution, killing and the preaching of hatred. In Italy, a new society is developing under the protection of distinctly coercive measures. In India, men and women are being taught that if they would be free, they must first be good." It is, therefore, that I am of opinion that *Ahimsa-Satyagraha* as evolved by Gandhiji is the method of the Cross adapted to the everyday problems of modern civilised existence and as such it is an extension in practical life of the teachings of the Lord and Master.

It has to be acknowledged, however unwillingly, that in the West, many humble and God-fearing men and women fired with the

teachings of Christ have lived in the spirit of *Ahimsa*. These have not failed in proclaiming from the house-tops the inconsistency between the profession and the practice of Christianity in their part of the world. Such people have condemned in the strongest of terms the social and economic injustice which has characterised Western nations as well as wars for national aggrandisement into which their countries have entered time after time. These have been like voices crying in the wilderness and have remained unheeded. On the whole, it would not be incorrect to assume that they have concerned themselves more with the salvation of individual souls rather than with making any attempt to preach the gospel of universal love as a divine call for the reconstruction of the existing social organisation and the radical reformation of the present world-order.

The message of Christ has gone forth but it has not been embodied or implemented in the way suggested above and that is why we are witnessing that disintegration which is taking place before our eyes to-day. At such a time has appeared in India, herself torn asunder by social and religious differences, a little frail "half-naked fakir" who has devoted his life to make once again the fundamental teaching of Christianity—the conversion of man by self-chosen unresisting, uncomplaining suffering—a vital message for sinful humanity. A Hindu has shown himself to be far nearer the truth of Christ, the truth of the Cross, than Christians who are known after the name of the Man of Sorrows. Before our eyes, the Cross has come to a new life and its creative triumph is borne testimony to by thousands of men and women who are not familiar with the teachings of our Lord and Master. This man has called his followers to a new kind of warfare in which the soldiers keep themselves from defilement by the use of weapons of destruction, a warfare in which the arms used are soul-force, where love is shown even to the cruellest of enemies. The soldiers engaged in this new kind of warfare have accepted the crown of thorns set in mockery on the head of Christ believing that it will redeem both victors and vanquished into a newer and a higher life. When will so-called Christians learn what their own religion means and when will they live Christianity in their daily lives and actions so as to make the world a better place to live in?

In conclusion, let us hear what Mahatma Gandhi has to say about the fundamental teaching of Christianity and the effects which its adoption in actual practice will lead to if we are convinced about

THE EQUATIONS OF WORLD-ECONOMY

DR. BENOYKUMAR SARKAR, DR. *h.c.*

IN 1890 was published the earliest of all the papers which have found place subsequently in Mahadeo Govind Ranade's *Essays in Indian Economics* (Bombay, 1898). But down to 1915 the output from Indian professors or other academicians in economics was rather poor in quantity. It is during the second quarter of a century since then that Indian economists have been somewhat in evidence as writers of economic essays, tracts or books. Virtually each one of these publications is a contribution to Indian economics. The treatment is, generally speaking, either descriptive or historical. The political bias is likewise almost universally patent. The entire output may be regarded scientifically as belonging to the field of applied economics. Exceptions to these general features of the economic literature produced by the economists of India are few and far between, and at any rate may be noticed only in very recent years.

The present author's approach to economic questions, Indian or non-Indian, theoretical or applied, has been from an angle rather different from that of Indian economists in general. The interest of his economic studies has lain chiefly in the analysis of international problems and more or less universal topics in which economic India has her part. In a general manner it may be described as world-economic or comparative. The equations of world-economy, the subject of this paper, may be regarded as some of the by-products, although not the less significant items, of these investigations.

THE METHODOLOGY OF COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

The chief object in this paper is, first, to describe as briefly as possible or illustrate the methods of analysis, and secondly, to enumerate very barely some of the conclusions. It will not be possible to go into details. The mind should be left open to the modifications or exceptions such as may legitimately be considered worthwhile. The considerations that are likely to militate somewhat against the acceptance of the conclusions in the form in which they are presented

are being overlooked for the time being. It is only the broad lines of argument that are being developed in a most general manner.

For the purposes of the present discussion we are avoiding the question as to how far the world is or has been a unified economic theatre for the play of economic forces, competition or co-operation in supply and demand, such as the concept of world-economy generally involves. Attention is being focussed on a comparative study of the economic structures and economic developments of the diverse regions of the world. We are interested in the inter-racial, inter-regional or inter-national analysis and comparison of economic creativities. Fundamentally speaking, these analyses should be quantitative, *i.e.*, statistical. But it so happens that for long, very long periods, to be measured by thousands of years the comparisons are bound to be exclusively qualitative. It is only for the last two or three generations, nay, for the last half-century that figures are available and comparative statistics can be treated in a somewhat scientific manner. This consideration should be regarded as a chief limitation bearing on the study of the equations in world-economy. Not less important is the consideration that the figures brought together by the authorities of the different regions are often hardly comparable with one another because the components in each system of figures may not be identical.

In so far as figures are available and comparable, the methodology of comparative statistics may be indicated as follows. It is not enough to quote the quantitative data for whole regions. These are but absolute figures. For the present purpose they do not possess much significance. In order to be of real worth they have to be worked out per head of the population inhabiting the regions in question. Sometimes it may also be necessary to calculate the figures per square mile of the territory considered. It is the relative figures thus derived that are important in international comparisons. They furnish the economic indices that have to be placed in the perspectives of one another in the comparison of the regions whose values are under examination.

Economic indices as thus interpreted are to be worked out along the entire front of economic life.[1] The bank deposits and bank assets,

[1] For some of the charts and indices see B. K. Sarkar: *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (Calcutta, 1932, 1934), *Imperial Preference vis-à-vis World-Economy* (Calcutta, 1934), *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1926), and *Economic Development*, Vol. I, (Madras, 1926, 1938), Vol. II, (Calcutta, 1932, 1938).

the insurance premia and the insurance funds, the passenger-miles and the ton-miles, the steam engines, the dynamos, the kilowatt-hours, the notes and coins in circulation, the clearing house transactions, the infant mortality rates, the expenses on primary education, the sanitation budgets, the housing subsidies, the municipal areas and their inhabitants, the maternity benefits, the sickness premia, the old-age pensions, the occupational diseases, the industrial accidents, the agricultural loans, the land mortgages, the exports and imports, the output and consumption of coal and steel, the output and consumption of sugar, eggs, fruits, etc., the trade unions and their members, and such other items have all to be exhibited in *per capita* and per square mile values. The larger the number of items considered, the more adequate and scientific the basis for studies in comparative economics or world-economy.

By applying such economic indices it is possible to detect three orders of parity, identity or equation existing between different regions, races and nations of the world, namely, the following:

1. A (1940) = x B (1940)
2. A (1940) = x A (1905)
3. A (1940) = B (1905)

The first equation of world-economy says that in 1940 the region A is x times the region B. This is to be understood item by item. According to the second equation the region A in 1940 is x times the same region in 1905. The region in question has gone ahead or down in economic indices. In the third equation we find the region A in 1940 equal to the region B as it was in 1905. That is, A is lagging behind B by 35 years in economic creativities. Each equation is evidently important in its own way for certain purposes.

In every instance the equation, identity or similarity is to be understood as approximate sameness or nearest approach.

Palaeolithic Technocracy and Economy

The equations of world-economy are palpable at the very outset. Mankind everywhere was economic and technocratic. The earliest specimens of the Pithecanthropus (Java) or the Heidelberg and the Neanderthal (Germany) races have been found to be experts in discoveries and inventions. Perhaps the very first or one of the first

manifestations of man's spirituality, soul-force or the like consisted in the discovery and application of tools, instruments and machines. (Pragmatically considered, the most prehistoric men and women)—and of course the Strepyans, the Chelleans, the Acheuleans and the Mousterians who may be singled out as some of the "great powers" of the Lower Palaeolithic Age,—(were hedonists, to use a modern category. That is, they were used to the calculus of pleasures and pains, gains and sacrifices, profits and losses.) These ultramodern terms are of course to be interpreted in their orientations to the palaeolithic *Gestalt* or pattern. (Maximum outturn with minimum sacrifice was the guiding principle of their materialistic-*cum*-spiritual creativity.) They were used to the avoidance of pains, wastes, losses etc. Indeed, their every day life was the theatre of rationalization in every item. In modern times economy or economic enterprise does not imply any thing else.

(We are then to understand from the records of tools and implements that economic creativity is as old as mankind. So also is technocracy. The first human beings were self-conscious materialistic agents. Nay, they were capitalistic too in so far as they were used to save and plan for the future. Economic policy was in their very breath. The time-sense was thus an integral part of their economic *psyche* or spiritual logic.) (In the second) place, they were users of tools and implements too. (They understood the value of economizing labour and appreciated the emergence of, nay, researches into, labour-saving appliances.) They were perpetually bent, perhaps no less consciously than unconsciously, on making changes in the tools and implements, thereby consummating a large number of "industrial revolutions" from epoch to epoch. (Inventiveness was the very *differentium* of man as a zoological being)

The most fundamental equation for all the races of palaeolithic men, no matter how they were geographically distributed, can then be delivered in two formulae as follows:—

I. The Equation of Materialism—
   1. No economics, no man,
   2. No planning, no man.

II. The Equation of Inventiveness—
   1. No technocracy, no man,
   2. No rationalization, no man.

It is not yet safe to enter into a quantitative examination of the materialistic and technocratic achievements of the diverse peoples of the palaeolithic age. Indeed it is hardly worth while to establish a synchronism between them or attempt anything more than a rough chronology. Evidently, although the spirit or soul or man was materialistic and inventive in all the races of those millennia there were the differences in degrees or grades between them not only in different epochs of evolution but in the same epoch as well. The distinction between the superiors or go-aheads and the inferiors a backwards cannot be overlooked in the analysis of these equations of materialism and inventiveness as the very foundation of human creativity.

From millennium to millennium it is possible to detect changes, improvements, transformations or progress in tools and implements. But during each successive stage some sort of a qualitative equation between the diverse palaeolithic men appears to have been a fact of technocracy.

By employing modern and ultra-modern terms to primitive and prehistoric phenomena we are to understand, of course, that the phenomena of today are coeval with mankind. But at the same time it is implied that the phenomenon has not remained identical all through the ages, but that from epoch to epoch it has changed its contents and substances. These considerations are to be duly weighed while evaluating, for instance, the many "industrial revolutions" of the Palaeolithic Age.

The Eur-Asian Parities

For certain purposes it is the convention among scholars to divide the world-economy (as world-culture generally) into two halves, eastern and western This is scientifically open to question. These two halves cannot by any means be demonstrated to represent two qualitatively distinct economies or economic ideologies. The prehistoric, *i.e.*, the lower and the upper palaeolithic stages of technocracy and economic creativity exhibit, as we have seen, the basic identity, similarity or equality between the races in regard to economic *psyche* and materialistic and technocratic attainments. We encounter here the fundamental equation of world-economy.

So far as the world-economy of the earliest historical periods is concerned, we may place it in the neo-lithic or chalco-lithic age,

say, somewhere between 3500 B.C. and 1500 B.C. About this time it is possible to detect the following economico-technocratic equation:

Mohenjodarian-Assyro-Babylonian economy (East)
= Egyptian-Cretan-Mycenean economy (West).

It is implied that in Mohenjodarian times Indian economy and Western economy were more or less identical. The distinction between East and West did not exist in materialism or the spirituality that is automatically involved in economic creativity and technocracy. Economic and technocratic parity was the fact of Eur-Asia on the threshold of history. This is another fundamental equation of world-economy.

For subsequent periods the more or less approximate materialistic and technocratic parities, identities or similarities may be roughly indicated as follows:[2]

(1) East (*c.* B.C. 700-*c.* A.C. 1300) = West (*c.* B.C. 700- *c.* A.C. 1300) institutionally as well as ideologically.

(2) Renaissance in the East (*c.*1400-1600) = Renaissance in the West (*c.* 1400-1600).

(3) *c.* 1600-1750. The new physical or positive sciences in the West constitute a special feature of the European Renaissance. The Asian Renaissance produces fine arts but no new positive science worth mentioning. All the same, no genuine economic or materialistic differentiations between East and West are preceptible as yet. We may then institute the following equations:

(*a*) Asia in positive science (*c.* 1600-1750) = Europe in positive science (*c.* 1400-1600).

(*b*) Asia in socio-economic life (*c.* 1600-1750) = Europe in socio-economic life (*c.* 1600-1750).

(4) *c.* 1750-1850. Industrial Revolution in the West creates a new civilization, the "modern world". East and West differ substantially for the first time. Thus, Asia (*c.* 1850) = Europe (*c.* 1750).

The "industrial revolution" referred to here is but one of the many industrial revolutions of economic history since the earliest epochs of the Palaeolithic Age.

(About 1850 the "East" is behind the "West" by nearly a century,—in technocracy, economic institutions and general culture.)

[2] B. K. Sarkar: *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Allahabad, 1914-1937), *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922, Calcutta, 1939), *The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Berlin, 1922, Calcutta, 1939).

Asia and Eur-America

Notwithstanding the divergences of latitude and longitude and notwithstanding the differences in the make-up of the blood among different races, economic anthropology as well as the history of inventions furnish us with what may be described as parities, equations or identities and at any rate similarities in the ideals as well as technical and other attainments of the diverse races of the world.

It is necessary at this stage of world-reconstruction to focus the attention of scholars on some of these parities or equations in the field of economic structure and materialistic civilization. In the place of the traditional ideas regarding racial and geographical differences in the so-called types of culture we are presented with differences or distances, *i.e.*, "lags" in time only. The fundamental features of world-economy, pragmatically considered, are found to be the same in the different peoples. It is only proceeding step by step or rather stage by stage from epoch to epoch: the differences between the peoples are in the main but differences in the stage or epoch. The equations that can be established reveal but the distinctions between earlier and later, go-ahead and backward peoples. The same economico-technocratic features are appearing today in one race or region, tomorrow in a second, and the day after tomorrow in a third.

The "curves" of life in economic theory and practice as manifest in the modern East are more or less similar to those in the modern West. If one were to plot out these curves diagrammatically one would notice that the Asian series ran almost parallel to the Eur-American. The "trends" of economic evolution would appear to be nearly identical in the most significant particulars and incidents of thought and experience.

The exactnesses of the mathematical and "positive" sciences, are, however, not to be expected in the human and moral disciplines. But certain "equations" may still be discovered in a comparative estimate of East and West in modern times. By placing the Asian curve in the perspective of the Eur-American one might establish a number of identities for the modern period—although, of course, not without "buts" and "ifs".

But, in any case, taking Asia as a whole one would come to the conclusion that the economic endeavours in the different regions of the Orient are mainly but repetitions of modern Eur-American

developments in their earlier stages. The following economico-technocratic equations may be established on the strength of postive data:

(1) New Asia (*c.* 1880-1890) = modern Eur-America (*c.* 1776-1832).

(2) Young India (*c.* 1935-1940) = Eur-America (*c.* 1848-1840).

In the first equation, Asia comprises Turkey and Egypt, indicating that the entire Orient from Tokyo to Cairo was witnessing a technical and social transformation roughly corresponding to the remaking of the West during the epoch of the "Industrial Revolution" as defined in the previous section.

The second equation has special reference to India, indicating that Japan and Turkey as well as China, Iran and Egypt will have to be comprehended by separate, perhaps five different equations. There are likewise to be seperate equations not only for Hedjaz, Palestine, Syria and Iraq but also for Afganistan which has for some time been enjoying lime-light as a somewhat serious and sincere youngster attempting the alphabet of modernism in technocracy and economic life.

The modern East is about two generations behind the modern West in technocracy and socio-economic polity. New Asia is born through (1) contact with and example of modern Western progress, (2) industrialization, however slow and halting, and (3) antipathy to foreign domination, intervention or concession.

The inspiration derived from the economic, political and cultural achievements of ancient and medieval Asia is another formative force in the New Orient. This "romantic" appreciation of the past is, however, intimately associated with modern historical, archaeological and anthropological scholarship. Nationalism, in so far as it is an aspect of romanticism, is thus ultimately to be traced, therefore, in the main to Western education such as began to bear fruit among the pioneers of the new life and thought in Asia between 1850 and 1886 and has been more or less democratized filtering down to the masses since then.

The process of Asia's rebirth may be said to have begun *c.* 1850 and taken about one generation or so, thus:—

1. Western Asia (Turkey, Egypt and Iran): 1857 (Crimean War) to 1876, 1882, 1890.

2. Southern Asia (India): 1857 (Mutiny) to 1886.

3. Japan: 1853 (Commodore Perry) to 1867-1889.
4. China: 1842 (Nanking Treaty) to 1898.

Although economico-technocratic modernization began to influence the Asian continent at different points more or less simultaneously during the decade from 1880 to 1890 the rate of growth for different regions since then has been different.

For instance, the distance or lag of some 50 years that existed between Japan and Eur-America, say, about 1886, has been made up to a very considerable extent; so that the approximate economic equation of world-economy would perhaps be indicated by the following statement:

Japan (*c.* 1935-40) = Eur-America (*c.* 1910).

That is, while India continues still to be some two generations or so behind the modern West in industrialism and its allied philosophies, the distance that existed during the decade 1880-1890, Japan has succeeded in catching up with the go-aheads by more than a generation. And to that extent Japan today is ahead of contemporary India.

Indian Economy and West-European Economy

It is not the place here to go into details about the technocratic and economic transformations of the modern world. But those transformations may be indicated in four successive periods beginning with the new conquests of technocracy in which England commenced pioneering the world about 1760-85. The following scheme exhibits the West-European Economy and the Indian Economy in four periods of transformation, which, however, from the nature of the case cannot be synchronous or identical. In regard to West-European Economy the British-German equations are being shown for each of these periods. The French equations with Germany or with England are being given for the first two periods only. In regard to India it is the equations with Germany as a "relatively late" comer and with England as the pioneer in the domain of modern technocracy and industrial revolution that are chiefly pointed out while the relations with France are indicated only incidentally. It is to be observed that the categories, "industrialization," "first industrial revolution" and "second industrial revolution" have reference to different degrees in the intensity and extensity of the socio-economic transformation

as measured by *per capita* or per sq. mile values. In any case, they are vague and scientifically anything but definite. International statistics, besides, are very incomplete and very uncomparable, and therefore, must not be made too much of. And yet some amount of precision for general purposes can be obtained,—provided we take care to guard ourselves against the monistic economic determinism of Karl Marx,—from an examination of the equations of comparative industrialism as tabled below:—[3]

West-European Economy	Indian Economy
I	I
1785-1830.	1793-1853.
The first "Industrial Revolution" of modern times is consummated in England. The age of modern technocracy commences its career. But France and Germany (1830) = England (1800).	From the Permanent Settlement in Bengal to the first cotton mill in Bombay. "Commercial revolution" in India on account of contacts with Europe through England. No new "industries." India (1853) = England (1785) = almost France (1830). = almost Germany (1830).
II	II
1830-70	1854-85
The first Industrial Revolution progresses in France and somewhat later in Germany. But Germany (1870) = England (1830-48). Rising birth-rate in the West-European economy (1841-80).	"Industrialization" (but not in dustrial revolution) commences slowly and in a weak manner. India (1885) = France (1848). = Germany (1848). = England (1815).

[3] *Cf.* H. Hauser: *Les Débuts du Capitalisme* (Paris, 1931), pp. 42-44, 309-23, where the terms "industry," "revolution," "capitalism," etc. have been subjected to careful sociological criticism. The strength and weakness of the economic interpretation of history have been examined at length in R. Michels—*Corso di Sociologia Politica* (Milan, 1927), pp. 15-17, 47-52, 81-85.

III

1870-1905

In modern technocracy Germany catches up with England. Germany (1905) = England (1905). The epoch of "world-economy" in its most pronounced phases commences with the opening of the Suez Canal (1869).

The decline commences in the birth-rate (1881-90).

III

1886-1905

Industrialization continues at a slow rate. The *intelligentsia* is growing self-conscious and works to achieve a veritable industrial "revolution" of the modern pattern. The economic sentiments of the Indian National Congress (1886) lead upto the Swaraj-Boycott-Swadeshi revolution of the Bengali people (1905).

India (1905) = Germany (1850-60).
= England (1830).

Rising birth-rate in India (1881-1910).

IV

1905-40

The "second" Industrial Revolution of modern times progresses in Germany, England (the U. S. A. and some other countries). "Rationalization" and Technocracy of the latest patterns paramount.

The epoch of world-economy intensified, among other factors, by the opening of the Panama Canal (1915).

The decline in birth-rate continues. But anti-birth control movement commences in France and Germany (*c.* 1920-30) and England (*c.* 1935).

IV.

1905-40

Industrialization somewhat accentuated on account of the *Swadeshi*-Movement and the Great War of 1914-18 as well as the present war (1939-) to a certain extent and yet hardly constitutes an industrial "revolution" of the modern West-European pattern in terms of *per-capita* or per sq. mile values.

In technocracy India (1940)
= Germany (*c.* 1865-70)
= England (*c.* 1848).

The decline in the birth-rate commences (1910-30).

In the above *tableau économique* the processes of transformation are identical on both sides, the West-European and the Indian. The chronological backwardness or sociocultural lag of certain regions in the West-European economy in relation to England the pioneer is quite clear. Equally clear also is the chronological backwardness of economic India in relation not only to England but to the

West-European economy as a whole. In technocracy India at 1905, *i.e.*, when the *Swadeshi* revolution of the Bengali people commences, is about 45-55 years behind Germany and about 75 years behind England. The general economic and social conditions of the Indian people, as well as their material standard of life and efficiency, are at this time on more or less the same level,—allowing for the differences in climate and manners,—as in these West-European countries between 1830 and 1860. There is nothing extraordinary, therefore, that the birth-rate tendencies, namely, in the direction of ascent, which prevailed in these regions in those earlier years should manifest themselves along general lines in the Indian economy during this later period (1886-1910). It is under the more or less identical conditions of "temperature and pressure," to use a phrase from physics, that the more or less identical birth-phenomena, namely, the rising birth-rates have taken place. Only the periods of time during which the conditions have developed are some three decades apart from each other, the third period of the Indian Economy corresponding with the second period of the West-European.

The next phase in both these economies is a declining birth-rate. The decline commences in the West-European in the third period but in the Indian in the fourth period. This decline, is, however, quite a curious phenomenon.

The third and fourth periods of the West-European Economy are, if any thing, but continuations of the previous two periods in technocracy, industrial revolution, etc. We have here indeed the beginnings of real "world-economy" and what may be called the "second" industrial revolution of modern times, altogether an expansion and intensification of the economic prosperity which commenced about 1760-1830. And so far as the Indian Economy is concerned, the fourth period has likewise witnessed nothing but the accentuation of all the technical and financial forces which operated in the third. The progress of industrialization in India has certainly embodied itself during this period in such productive enterprises and items of consumption as sharply distinguished it from the third as moving on a higher plane. Material prosperity has grown in India as in Western Europe, although undoubtedly at different rates, in recent years.

Should the growing economic prosperity be a concomitant factor with the rising birth-rate in certain periods of West-European and

Indian life-history, the birth-rate ought to continue to rise during succeeding periods which witness the continuity, nay, expansion of the economic prosperity. But the actual facts of international vital statistics happen to be the exact opposite of what is logically expected. Instead of the birth-rate rising higher or at any rate maintaining a higher level with the larger doses of industrialization, technocracy, world-economy, and material prosperity, it has actually fallen and has been going down lower and lower. And the decline is patent as much in the West-European Economy as in the Indian.[4] The results of the anti-birth control movement are not yet mentionable.

Western Europe and the Balkan Complex

Within the limitations to which all economico-technocratic equations as attempts at measuring magnitudes bearing on "un-exact" sciences are bound to be subject, it should be equally possible to indicate, for the purposes of comparative statistics, the rates of growth in the line of modernization for different regions of Eur-America as well. The entire West is not one in industrialism, technocracy, economic planning, socialism or the corresponding philosophies. There are Europes and Europes as there are Americas and Americas. To take one instance, that of Germany, we should find the following equations:

(1) Germany (*c.* 1870) = Great Britain (*c.* 1830-48).
but (2) Germany (*c.* 1905) = Great Britain (*c.* 1905).

The first equation says that about 1870 Germany was tremendously behind Great Britain, say, by a whole generation. But by 1905, *i.e.*, in 35 years, she, first, made up the distance, and secondly, caught up to the latter. She was indeed on the point of crossing the equation-limit. The war of 1914-18 should appear socio-philosophically to be nothing more than the dramatic demonstration of this disturbance of the economico-technocratic equation or societal equilibrium in the international field. The war of 1939—is but a continuation of the same armageddon of the twentieth century constituting its second round.

[4] The present author's *Quozienti di Natalità, di Mortalità e di Aumento Naturale nell' India Attuale nel Quadro della Demografia Comparata* in the Proceedings of the International Congress for the study of Population (Rome, 1931); "The Trend of Indian Birth Rates" (in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, Allahabad, April and July 1934).

The equations discussed here involve two fundamental considerations in the problem of economic progress. The first has reference to the fact that during historic and even pre-historic periods the evolution of mankind has been continuous, although not without ups and downs, cuts and breaks. And the second invites us to note that the development has been in the main along uniform lines, although not without diversities in regional and racial context.

An analysis of economic life in the Balkans would lead to the result that Jugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, etc. represent almost the same stages in technological evolution in which India finds herself at the present day. Almost each one of the states that lies between the German and Russian spheres and between the Baltic Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean is an India in miniature. Economically speaking, each of these states embodies the efforts of semi-developed and more or less chiefly agricultural peoples at imbibing the culture of the more advanced Western Europe and America. They represent the processes of "acculturation" by which Eastern Europe is tending to bid adieu finally to the lingering vestiges of the feudal-agrarian system, the mediaeval economic organization and technique, which disappeared more or less partially in England, the U.S., France, and Germany between 1750 and 1850.

In point of industrialization, technocracy and capitalism the British, German and American standard is the highest in the world. Nearly two-thirds of the European continent are in the more or less undeveloped and mediaeval conditions of Spain. That is why the people of India should make it a point to study the methods and achievements of Spain, the Balkan Complex and other second-rate and third-rate countries of Eur-America. It would be a wrong policy for Young India always to talk of England, Germany and America while organizing industrial and other economic movements.

Modern economy has been advancing from the West to the East. There is no region today more significant for the development of India than the Balkans, Central-Eastern Europe, the Baltic states and Russia. The problems that are being fought over and settled in these territories,—generally described as the "Balkan Complex" by the present author,—are identical in many ways with the problems that await solution and are challenging the industrial experts and social workers of India.

The conclusion from an examination of the earlier stages of "modern" banking in France and Germany from the stand-point of comparative bank-statistics is equally significant with reference to the equations that are being discussed here. When one studies the European figures with special reference to Indian conditions one should suspect that in banking, as in other branches of economic and social (perhaps also cultural) development, India has yet to commence mastering the ideas of 1870 or thereabout and traverse the ground covered by the moderns since then.

The cumulative effect of all these investigations may be embodied in the following futuristic equation:—"Whatever has happened in the economic sphere in Eur-America during the past half-century is bound also to happen more or less on similar and even identical lines in Asia and, of course, in India during the next two generations or so." The problem before applied economics or economic statesmanship, so far as India is concerned, consists in envisaging and hastening the working out of the "next stages" in technical progress as well as economic life. (Economic planning, rightly considered, cannot mean anything else for India.)

Socialism is the obverse of capitalism both in the medieval and the modern phases of this phenomenon. Factory legislation, labour movement, trade unionism, protection of workingmen and such other forms of state intervention as constitute the essence of modern socialism are virtually as old as the modern steam-engine, machinery, and workshop. The comparative appraisal of industrial-*cum*-capitalism in and through the equations of economic indices furnishes likewise almost automatically the comparative evaluation of socialism. For instance, the strength of the trade-union movement in an economic region is an index as much to the power of its capitalistic as of its socialistic economy. The equations of world-economy are, therefore, to be taken as valid for the entire capitalistic-socialistic complex in every region, Asian, African or Eur-American.

The Equations of Comparative Industrialism in Their Bearings on Economic Planning

The practical significance of the equations of world-economy with reference to "Economic Planning" is not to be overlooked.

Comparative industrialism discovers that in orientations to the "world-economy" economic India exhibits the features of an economically young, undeveloped or semi-developed people *vis-à-vis* the industrial "adults" of the day. In the interest of economic legislation and other aids to economic developments, it may perhaps be quite one's worth-while in India to try to cultivate up-to-dateness in the world-statistics, the world-techniques, and the world-ideals of economics. But for the more "practical" considerations of "realizable" ideals and methods of economic statesmanship India will have to devote special attention to assimilating intensively the achievements in theory and practice such as the economic adults were contributing to the world, say, a generation or two ago. It is easier for a certain number or rather a handful of intellectuals, considered as individuals, to advance "ideologically" than for an entire race or some substantially large sections of the population to grow in terms of institutions and get used to new techniques, habits and usages.

The banking situation in India today, to take an instance of current interest, can be aptly described in the words of the National Monetary Commission (1908), which sat to examine and report on the defects in the financial organization of the U.S.A. In 1911, we are told, the Americans exported about $ 650,000,000 in value of cotton. It was largely financed by 60 or 90 day bills drawn on Liverpool, London, Paris or Berlin. And this business was "practically all done by foreign banks or bankers." In regard to domestic trade also the American methods were "crude, expensive and unworthy an intelligent people." The Commission observed as follows: "The man who raises cotton in Mississippi or cattle in Texas, or the farmer who raises wheat in the North-West cannot readily find a market in Chicago, Now York or London for the obligations arising out of the transactions connected with the growth and movement of his products because the bankers of these cities have no knowledge of his character and responsibility."

Factually, perhaps, from the standpoint of comparative development, in spite of the modest language of the Commission the American conditions three decades ago were not literally as "crude" and "disgraceful" or "young" as the Indian conditions today. But "generally" speaking, the two conditions are similar, if not identical. And Indian bank-reformers have, therefore, more to learn of pre-1914 than of post-1914 America or the Rooseveltian "New Deal" of post-

depression (1933) years. We should have to begin at, say, the American stage of 1908. It is to be observed, however, in the interest of precision that the American economic indices of 1908 or thereabouts were already much too high, as representing quite an "adult" phenomenon, for the Indian indices of 1935-40. Statistically, there are indeed reasons to believe that for all practical purposes, the present Indian conditions hardly register anything beyond the Western-European or American growth of the 70's of the last century. Altogether, when we in India speak of pre-1914 Eur-America as a general guide for our present purposes we should really have in our mind the second half or rather the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

That is why, with a view to the pressing requirements of Indian commerce, manufacture, agriculture, labour and economic legislation bearing on these practical aspects of life, *i.e.*, on "economic planning" as known today, we should often be at liberty to overlook or ignore the latest developments in the Western world. Indian studies relating to the twentieth century and especially the post-1914 phases of Eur-American experience—rationalization, trustification, "planned economy" —are mainly to be evaluated as academic investigations into the possibilities of mankind's economic evolution and as scientific researches into the "next stages" of the world's development in technical and national lines. To that extent such investigations would possess indeed a dynamic value of no mean order, fraught, as they are likely to be, with suggestions of a practical character.

On the other hand, the methods and policies of economic India today should appear to be almost akin to, nay, identical with, those of the other economic youngsters of the world—in Southern or Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. The industrialization of India and other young regions can be appreciated at its proper worth—technocratic, commercial, social and political—only by those who are prepared not to overlook or minimize the importance of the "new industrial and commercial revolution" through which the adults have been passing for the last three decades, especially during and since the Great War of 1914-18. Once these perspectives of international economic life and the new world-order were grasped in their due proportions, it might perhaps be possible to discover the proper scientific approaches to the regulation of the economic and other conflicts between the "young ambitions" and the "vested interests."

The world-economy as patent today is the system of economic institutions and ideologies prominent since, say, 1920. In a concrete manner they may be said to be embodied in organizations like the League of Nations, the International Bureau of Labour, the International Chamber of Commerce, International Cartels, "planned economy," etc. It is clear that India is already a part of this complex and willy-nilly has been trying to rise up to the methodology and technique of the new world-order. But the discrepancies lie no less on the surface. These consist in the attempts of a junior that is furnished, as it evolutionally is, with somewhat semi-medieval paraphernalia, but is compelled none the less to observe and follow the up-to-date standard of the comparatively advanced members in the society of nations. This compulsion perpetually to aim at the highest and attitudinize oneself to the socio-economic *mores* and codes of the seniors may, to a certain extent, undoubtedly hasten the developmental processes in the juniors. But the frictions due to actual maladjustment and absence of natural harmony in the economic *Realpolitik* cannot fail to be the source of internationally tragic situations. The lack of adaptation between the economics of youngsters and those of the adults constitutes the greatest stumbling block, technically considered, to international concord in the epoch of world-economy.[5]

The War-Economy and Indian Industrialism

An illustration of the equations of world-economy as well as their practical significance in economic statesmanship may be furnished from the position of Indian industrialism *vis-à-vis* the war of today (September, 1939-).

The *swadeshi* revolution of Young Bengal (1905) would have failed to grow into the great power it has become today had there been no war of 1914-18. That war was a god-send to Bengali, nay, all-Indian industrialism and capitalism. The industrial revolution or transformation of India was intensified and extended by the economic enterprises attendant on that first "*Kurukshetra*" of the twentieth century. On that occasion as on many others in all the ages of history

[5] See the discussion on the relation between the "second" and the "first" Industrial Revolutions—the "adults" and the "youngsters"—in connection with the analysis of the world-economic depression in Sarkar's *Economic Development* Vol. II. (Calcutta, 1932, 1938).

since the Mohenjodarian, indeed, since the Palaeolithic ages war-economy acted as a powerful factor in the promotion of industrial and commercial life. It is war that has always been a creative agent in inventions and discoveries. It is war that has ever been considerably responsible for new industries, trades and business. No war, no science. No war, no technocracy. No war, no progress. No war, no civilization. These statements need not, however, be taken in the *advaita vadi* or monistic method of functional determinism.

One has only to observe the economic indices of India about 1925 and place them in the perspective of those about 1913 in order to be convinced how tremendously India's industrial progress was influenced on account of the direct and indirect contributions of the last world-war. Banks, insurance companies and transportation societies such as today are being run by Indian financiers and manned by Indian talent, are all every day conscious of that war as a beneficent agency in Indian technocracy and capitalism. And of course the industries, large, medium or small, nay, the cottage arts and crafts, the exports and imports as well as the agricultural occupations, all felt the impacts of the war in an exceedingly favourable manner. No greater tonic has been administered to the *swadeshi* revolution of the Indian people than the war-economy of 1914-18.

In regard to the present war also, which is really a continuation of the last war, being but the second round in what may turn out to be a hundred years' armageddon between the two dominant peoples of the modern world students of economic statistics, especially in their bearings on Indian industry and commerce, can reasonably look forward to similar consummations. The economic indices of 1950 *vis-à-vis* 1938 are tending to be at least of the same magnitudes as those of 1925 *vis-à-vis* 1913. Another god-send to the industrial *swadeshism* of India is being furnished by the present war. No shrewd business-man can afford to be misled by the panicky observations or interpretations of the man in the street. The objective facts are telling their own tale. The war-industries and the war-trades have already been functioning in India in a palpable manner. The news-agencies of the present war are undoubtedly not as generous as those of the last in furnishing information about the smallest or the largest new ventures or enlargements of old enterprises, such as are taking place in order to feed the war-machine. Nor do they always appear to be keen enough in reporting on the non-war industrial establishments

that are emerging in order to fill in the gaps created by the disappearance of the peace-time foreign suppliers of India's normal requirements. The factual changes in the direction of Indian exports, *i.e.*, the shipments of Indian manufactures, semi-manufactures and raw produce to new countries within and outside the war-regions do not likewise appear as yet to have claimed the attention of the publicity bureaus. But the noses of hard-headed businessmen do not depend exclusively on the flavours catered by the official or non-official news agencies. They must already be aware of the slow but steady transformations in the industrial and commercial structure of India engendered by the war-economy of today.

The demand for the goods produced by the Indian *swadeshi* manufacturers is so great that no advertisement is necessary for them to market the stuffs. The buyers are at the doors of the factories even before the goods are ready for delivery. The absence of publicity on the part of the manufacturing companies is easily understandable. Economic theorists and the lay public should orientate themselves to this aspect of the present industrial situation in India.

Nobody is blind enough to believe that during the period since the outbreak of the war in September 1939 India's war-preparations in men, material, technique and so forth have failed to influence the Indian agriculture, manufacture, commerce, transportation and technical education to any extent. The economist has but to visualize these preparations in a realistic manner and the businessman but to depend less on newspaper reports or rather on the absence of such reports and more on his eyes and ears, and both are likely to be convinced that the present war is repeating the experiences of the last in regard to the progress of industrialization, technocracy and capitalism in India. All this has to be visualized, further, in the background of, say, a seven-year, or at any rate a five-year war. The advances in engineering, chemistry, electro-technique, aviation, land-transportation, manufacture, cottage industries, as well as agriculture, on the one hand, and in the growth of technical heads, business experts, and skilled workingmen on a somewhat considerable scale on the other may then be presumed to be the realities of economic India about 1950. Compared to that prospective consummation the developments of 1913-25 might even appear to be rather inconsiderable.

The panicky climate of the Indian markets since September, 1939, is in the main due to the uncertainties about the prospective

duration of the war. Those observers who attach extraordinary importance to the *Blitzkrieg* tactics have been nursing every morning the ideology of a three-week to three-month war.

This is too naive an ideology. A war in which are being decided the boundaries of every people in Europe as well as the fortunes of many races, if not of every race in the two hemispheres, can hardly ever be the plaything of a few days, months or years or settled by a negotiated peace of any sort. Not to envisage a pretty long war in the present instance is the height of unbusinesslike mentality and unrealistic historic sense. But once the ideology of a somewhat long war (five to seven years) be accepted in the business world the markets will begin to function in all their boom manifestations. Perhaps today the psychology of the business world is gradually getting used to the prospects of adequately long-period military, naval and aerial requirements for the Indian people and the British Empire in general.

It is in this connection that the activities of the Eastern Group Conference acquire a special significance. Neither the economist nor the businessman can afford to take the purely political or journalistic view of this conference. It is reasonable to start with an elementary postulate, namely, that it is not with the direct and avowed object of promoting India's industry and commerce or helping her forward along the lines of economic autarchy that the Conference was convened. Its function is primarily to organize, consolidate, unify and rationalize the British Empire resources in this part of the hemisphere with a view to the most efficient carrying on of the war. Every industrial, agricultural or commercial measure that may be projected by the Conference will have to be subordinated to this single mission. The financial and industrial power of the British Empire, so far as Asia is concerned, may be said to be virtually vested in this Conference.

Not all the pet hobbies of the Indian economist nor all the financial interests of the Indian businessman can evidently come to be taken care of in the fulfilment of this mission. The Conference is really to be envisaged as nothing but the British Empire in its economic aspects especially deputed to utilize Asia as the most effective instrument for the war. The economist as well as the businessman have to be prepared for the situation that among the overseas suppliers of goods for the Indian market Australia and South

Africa will occupy a larger and larger place. Any slight acquaintance with the *bazars* of Indian towns and villages will leave no doubt about the increasing rôle of these two Dominions in Indian economy during the last few months. This rôle is going to be more and more influential, nay, dominant during the next few years. The rule of British capital in India bids fair to be exercised in very large proportions from Australia and South Africa, as representatives of the United Kingdom.

While taking due note of the rôle of these Dominions as the supplier of goods for India neither the economist nor the businessman can afford to be bamboozled into the idea that all the war-requirements of India, the Persian Gulf region, Western Asia and North East Africa up to the Eastern Mediterranean or of Burma and the Chinese and Far Eastern or South Asian battlefields can be, first, manufactured in Australia and South Africa, and secondly, shipped safely to India across the seas. British capital cannot afford to depend exclusively on these two Dominions in regard to the supplies required on the present and the prospective war-fronts in and around India. The exigencies of Empire defence are bound to counsel the British war-magnates willy-nilly to invest larger doses of their finance in establishments on Indian soil than they may have been contemplating. Apart from the direct war-industries there is the question of supplying India as well as her neighbours with the industrial goods of all sorts, such as used to be imported from abroad. The problem of these normal supplies cannot likewise be trusted exclusively to the factories and workshops of far-off Australia and South Africa. The financiers and business experts of the United Kingdom are, therefore, being forced by the pressure of circumstances to take India and the Indians more into confidence than they probably wanted to. These are certain aspects of war-finance such as no economist and businessman in India can afford to overlook if they care to be realistic and objective.

Evidently there should be a good place for Indian capital and business ability to function in these circumstances. In so far as a great deal of war industries as well as non-war industries is bound to be promoted or enlarged in India as a necessity of British war-strategy the chances for Indian financiers, businessmen and technical experts co-operating directly or indirectly with the British personnel and institutions should appear to be of somewhat large dimensions.

In other words, although neither the industrialization of India nor the promotion of economic autarchy in India belongs to the terms of reference of the Eastern Group Conference, the expansion of India's industry and commerce, technocracy and capitalism can be depended upon as one of the inevitable consequences of the projects likely to be taken in hand according to its suggestions.

The statistician who is interested in the economic indices and in the equations of world-economy should not, however, fail to point out at once that in point of technocracy and capitalism both Australia and South Africa are much higher developed and rationalized than India happens to be at the present moment. In regard to the pressing problems of the war, India, generally speaking, is, therefore, likely to be much less efficient as an industrial and technical supplier than either Australia or South Africa. Besides, it is Australia and South Africa that may be expected in much shorter time than India to get prepared for the new technocratic and industrial developments required in the present conjuncture. India's part in the war-economy of the British Empire may not, therefore, be as spectacular or phenomenal as that of these Dominions. Her progress may likewise fail to be as rapid and as high as that of theirs. This should be taken as perfectly normal. The amount and rate of progress or advance that an economic region can exhibit depend naturally on the actual economic condition at the moment of start. Absolutely considered, also, the rate of India's progress is perhaps likely to be low. But the industrial, technocratic and capitalistic expansion of India bids fair to be a solid economic reality all the same. The reasonable attitude for the Indian economist, businessman or economic statesman should not be to compare India's absolute or relative progress with Australia's and South Africa's during the next few years except as a theoretical study. The chief concern from the Indian side ought to be to watch from month to month or year to year how far India has been advancing in the modernization of technique, business establishments, agriculture, workingmen and other personnel in reference to the perspectives of 1938.

It may be found that there is hardly any chance of India being exploited by Australia and South Africa in the sinister sense. On the other hand, there are opportunities presenting themselves before India for enriching herself and advancing her own interests with and without British finance and technical co-operation along the entire

front covered by what is known as "economic planning." It is hardly to be doubted that the shrewd businessmen of India will know how to utilize the *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) generated by the war-economy in order to promote the expansion of India as an industrial power not only at home but also in the two hemispheres, especially wherever there were markets for British goods down to 1939.

A NEO-VEDANTIC CONCEPTION OF REALITY*

MAHENDRA NATH SIRCAR

TWO other volumes of "The Life Divine" by Sri Aurobindo appear in quick succession. Though they form two parts of the same volume, still in matter and content, they can be regarded as two separate volumes. In the volume under review Sri Aurobindo introduces metaphysical and epistemological problems of moment and maintains a high level of discourse inspired by a singular creative imagination.

Metaphysics on the Indian soil has been associated with epistemology, for in Vedantic systems where consciousness is reality, epistemology has its unique and native importance. A theory of reality has been built upon an epistemological analysis helped by an inward vision into the different ranges of conscious life. The author's position becomes easily intelligible if the distinction between the knowledge and the ignorance is sufficiently understood. Sri Aurobindo as a Vedantist is keenly alive to it. He does not find any contradictory opposition between the two. Ignorance is not the absence of knowledge, it is only a lower and lesser degree of it specialising or particularising our knowledge. This exclusiveness is the very essence of ignorance. It is a non-perceiving principle as opposed to the truth-perceiving vision and knowledge. "Ignorance is the absence of the divine eye of perception which gives us the light of supramental truth." "This ignorance is indeed the power of the knowledge to limit itself, to concentrate itself on the work in hand. All conscious self-limitation is a power for its special purpose, not a weakness. All concentration is a force of conscious being, not a disability." The present status of human knowledge is not final, there is a secret urge in it to replace it by all comprehending vision of integral awareness. The nature of ignorance is to supersede itself in knowledge because it is at its root-basis a deformation of it.

Usually ignorance is considered as primary and secondary. The secondary ignorance pertains to the finite knowledge. It screens the

* The Life Divine by Sree Aurobindo, Vol. II. Published by the Arya Publishing House, 63, College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 16.

different status of finite experience in sleep and waking. It draws a dividing line between the different universes of experience. Such ignorance has a relative existence true in the order of relativities. Extreme emphasis on the either side, the author thinks, accounts for the absence of a concord in Metaphysics. Reality in supreme withdrawnness in self-concentration is an appearance different from Reality in its self-expression in diffusion. But the two are not different. The one integral existence has these appearances which are apparently divergent, but complementary to each other in the indivisible whole. Absolute consciousness in its nature is absolute power. Consciousness and power are indivisible existences. This power is the *chit*, and the *chit* is the primal force, generally called *maya*. This *tapas* or *chit* represents the urge of self-concentration and the urge of self-expression. Brahman is locus to both.

Sree Aurobindo has dwelt at length on the bearing of this implication on the theory of knowledge. With his occult insight he sees directly the whole span of our conscious life from the subconscious to the superconscious and erects a theory of knowledge befitting his experience. He draws a distinction between the separative knowledge consequent on the operation of the sense and the external contact and the knowledge by identity and self-vision. Separative knowledge gives us the knowledge of partiality and limited experiences of the concept-ridden consciousness, which cannot rise to the immediacy, either of the superconscious or of the subconscious.

A similarity exists between F. H. Bradley and Sree Aurobindo. F. H. Bradley has not developed the nature of subconscious immediacy. Sree Aurobindo has dealt with this range of experience almost in detail and has shown how herefrom the direct knowledge is possible of the cosmic sub-conscient, the cosmic physical and the cosmic vital. At the other end of immediacy in the superconscious, he has traced out the overmental, the supermental and the transcendental ranges of consciousness. Bradley speaks of the riches of content in the absolute experience which is felt but not known.

Sree Aurobindo's world of overmental knowledge is immediate but this immediacy presents the distincts along with unitive experience and is different from the supermental unitive where the distincts as distincts are not perceived. Both the overmental and the supermental intuition are beyond mental or logical knowledge. In the

immediacy of knowledge he traces out the four stages of immediate apprehension.

(1) Self-awareness in its supreme status is immediate. It needs no reference even to itself. It is pure awareness. Existence and awareness are here identical.

(2) The next form of immediacy is the all-inclusive awareness, which is knowledge by inclusion, indwelling and identity It is immediate because it requires no act or operation of knowledge, no relation of subject and object. The identity is maintained evenly throughout, which knows or is simply aware of all itself.

(3) In the next stage knowledge emerges out as an act of knowing ; the supreme awareness becomes the subject and the object of its self-knowledge. The polarisation is incomplete. The subject and the object cannot miss the central reference to the supreme awareness, and though knowledge passes from its supreme abstract integrity to concrete integrality, still, since on both sides of reference there is the identical being, it is regarded as another form of immediate consciousness. It is knowledge of knowledge by knowledge. This is a movement within the self, but no reference to anything besides it. There is projection but no outward reference.

(4) Still, there is another form of immediate awareness in which there is a spiritual penetration into the object and a direct spiritual contact with it. Here the object is given a prominence. The spiritual expression takes place through perception, conception and emotion, not in their ordinary application, but as spirit seeing spirit, spirit conceiving spirit, spirit feeling spirit. This becomes possible when the potentiality of spirit expresses itself through definite formations.

All these experiences are immediate because they have no reference to anything, besides self. Bradley's immediate experience conforms to the second form of all-inclusive experience. The other forms of immediacy refer to the concrete act of spirit. They never exceed the self-reference and the self-movement.

In separative knowledge there is the underlying identity, the self cognising its identity with the object, but it is overshadowed by reciprocity and mutuality. The sense of distance and division makes out the otherness rather than the identity. There is the urge to go beyond the division and feel the identity, for the native tendency is to feel the object not as distinct from the self but as its other. When the human consciousness has the surface knowledge, it takes the other

as not-self; but, when it feels deeply, it realises the not-self as its own being and its essence. Knowledge does, therefore, never report the existence of anything foreign to itself, and, if there is apparent divergence between the self and its object, it dissolves in psychic perception where the challenging foreignness and the ungulfable distance of the object are mellowed down, and the unity of existence and the immanence of consciousness are clearly felt and realised.

If immediacy is true of the superconscious and of the normal perception, it is equally true of the subconscious knowledge. It is immediate in all its layers. The subliminal consciousness has a wide range and, what is more, it is possible to pass through it unto the cosmic subliminal stirring. This unconscious immediacy can be raised to conscious immediacy. The immediate experience has, therefore, the access into the superliminal, subliminal and the conceptual.

This theory of knowledge by identity is different from ordinary perception in this that here is a direct connection between the subject and the object by psychic influence. The sense contact which is involved in ordinary perception is not necessary in this kind of knowledge, for the psychic is so powerful a reflector that it can easily reflect the very core of our object. The Vedantic theory of perception (as developed in Neo-Vedantism) has the implication of the psychic element; it accepts the streaming out of an influence from the subject to the object. Knowledge by identity implies a process and an identification. This identification takes place through the psychic process. A height is reached when the sense contact, native to ordinary perception, is not found to be necessary. But this does not mean that it introduces us to illusion.

There are subtler heights which are attained when the limitations of mind are overcome. Vyasa, in his commentary on the Patanjali, says there is no least touch of doubt in this kind of knowledge. The psychic perception sees through the intractableness of matter and exhibits the possibilities of finer evolution in knowledge. The two extremes of existence appear as almost similar because of the absence of active stirring in the immobile self-awareness of the one and of the immobile inertia and ignorance of the other. Intermediate between the two, consciousness exhibits integral unity and multiple diversity. In the author's scheme the absolute integrality nowhere suffers for the concept-ridden mind is in the habit of differentiation but the superconscient is Reality in its universality and individuality.

Sree Aurobindo as a poet and an occultist—his philosophy is loyal to these instincts—cannot give a refusal to the Silence as well as to the Music of life. His philosophic formulation exhibits a conformity to life and experience rather than a pattern of mentalised thought. It affords freedom from the rigid logic of identity and difference which cannot see the architechtonic uprising of spirit in its creative poises and formation ; these formulations cannot delimit the infinite which does not lose its self-exceeding.

Error and evil are consequent on a limited knowledge and restricted adaptation and are possible between the two extremes of the superconscient and the inconscient. Naturally error and evil are actualities where the promptings of the evolution reach the scale of mental formations fit to receive and interpret in terms of categories. They have their meaning there. Philosophy in evaluating them make them either illusory in the absolutistic scheme or permanent in the dualistic scheme. The one evaluates them from a too transcendental status, the other from the undenial actualities that face us in existence.

Sree Aurobindo evaluates them as factors involved in evolution: "The evolutionary intention acts through the evil as through the good. It has to utilise all. Confinement to a limited good would imprison it in the intended evolution."

The evolutionary force has no special preferences for either of the opposites it uses for its purpose. They control the evolutionary urge and there is no absolute distinction between them. Our tendency is to make them categorically different and this is because the mental valuation cannot enter into the secrets of the urge, leading on to the emergence of the Eternal Good. Error and evil serve economy in the scheme of life and have that way a meaning. They are not pure negatives, not pure positives, they are the inevitable consequences of life starting from ignorance and proceeding towards the emergence of a beatitude in which they are transformed. Every step in higl er evolution offers the key to the transformation of error and evil. A. C. Bradley in his Gifford Lectures points out that evil is consequent on a too much individualistic viewpoint of life which disappears on the emergence of a wider vision where the loss is compensated by the new promise. The acuteness of suffering is burnt up in the fuller flame of life, the tears of grief becomes the drops of delight. A. C. Bradley thinks that suffering in its noblest form may survive, and be changed and transformed but it may

not be so neutralised as to totally disappear. Sree Aurobindo thinks that in the progressive transformation the sting is taken away completely from life which comes out in its divine brilliance and completeness. Evil makes its appearance as a tension to heighten the moral and spiritual evolution to finally disappear in the plenum of absolute reality.

Transformation is an important, almost the central, theme in Sree Aurobindo's teachings. Man in his essence of being is one with the divine in wisdom and power and nature in its ecoromy provides for such transformation as will make man realise divine status of its being. F. H. Bradley's transformation is more an education of the intellect to transcend its natural limitation and to view things in the absolute setting. Sree Aurobindo's conception is more concrete and positive and it influences our concrete personality. In Bradley our immediate experience is merged in the Absolute. In Sree Aurobindo creative force through transformation exhibits the divine symphony in concrete modulation. Transformation in this sense is also referred to in Vyasa Bhasya on the Patanjali (Ch. 2.12).

Sree Aurobindo does not lend his acceptance to energism and illusionism. The former makes the world process a mechanical make shift, the latter an illusion. Illusion is neither non-reality nor partial reality. It is a mental construction and naturally a fruit of limited knowledge or half ignorance. When mental views of things are supplemented by richer visions the so-called error finds a place in the fuller setting (not after the Bradleyan sense of the loss of historicity) relating its individuality in the graded expression of creative reality. Thus ignorance proceeds, however stumblingly, towards knowledge finally liberating into truth consciousness.

The consideration of dream and deep sleep throws a light upon the theories of knowledge indicating how behind the limited experience of waking consciousness there are stretches of experience equally or even more meaningful ; and if with persistent care and watchfulness one can enter into layers of conscious life, it is not impossible to obtain an ordered working in these ordinarily inaccessible depths of our being and to being then under the conscious guidance and direction. The study of the psychology of dream and sleep adds a meaning to the theory of illusion and its relation to reality. All mental hallucination or sense-illusion may proceed falsely upon a possible content of knowledge misrepresenting or misplacing it or making impossible combination out of it. But the cosmic illusion is of a different sort

where there is no imposition or superimposition, for that would imply dual existence. It cannot, therefore, be interpreted in epistemological sense. It must be supposed to mean that illusion has some real basis originating out of it or subsisting in it. It is called illusion because our mental construction and experiences are partial. Mind naturally regards universe as its own imperfect construction and traces out the connection between transcedental reality beyond time and the cosmic creation in time.

Sankara thinks rightly that the mystery of creation is not explicable in terms of reason and has eventuality to posit an *unreal* reality. Sree Aurobindo thinks that Sankara does not step further and does not appraise the world from the superconscious awareness that maintains and sustains it. The problem of creation cannot be solved unless one can see beyond creation. To reason it will always remain a mystery, for reason is an evolute in the process of emergence. If one can get beyond reason and see the unfolding of creation from a height which is not in the least touched by creation it will be felt to be a self-projection of the transcendental Absolute perpetual and eternal in its being. The cosmic dream is a projection in space and time of the Absolute by which Absolute is not in the least affected. The world process is necessarily associated with the Absolute which it assimilates. The Absolute projects itself in the creative process, and the creative process finds its ground, meaning in the Absolute. To quote Prof. Whitehead, " the theme of cosmology is a story of the dynamic effort of the world passing into everlasting unity and of the static majesty of God's vision accepting its purpose of completion by absorption of world's multiplicity of effort. The infinite of being must also be the infinite of power containing itself an eternal repose and quiescence capable of eternal action and reaction. The super-conceptual rises into a conceptual unity in the process of emergence and realises its concreteness. The emergence of the concrete determination and the formation of concrete centres involved in the process is spontaneous. This kind of evolution is different from the Emergent evolution of Prof. Alexander. Sree Aurobindo thinks that in the course of evolution the unity is diversified, still it maintains its integrity and is revealed in the initial and not in the last stage of evolution. The initial is more concrete and more unified because of its connection with the whole process.

The duality of spirit and matter is avoided by conceiving them as two poles of an identical existence. The one pole is the spirit's

supreme affirmation in its uppermost superconsciousness. The other pole is spirit's apparent diminution in its self-oblivion and self-limitation. The divided vision sees the determinism in nature missing the divine presence and the spirit's free functioning in it. The truer unity is not to be evolved but is to be revealed or realised in the ascent of our consciousness from its present status to cosmic *Purusha*.

The antinomies to which the conceptual working of the mind is committed are removed in the united vison of the supermind and the opposition that is seemingly evident between spirit and matter, Brahman and *Maya* and the different status of Reality as the transcedental and the cosmic, between the personal and the impersonal, is reconciled there. The supermind is not committed to the logic of antithesis. It reveals the sempiternal movement of the spirit in the infinite rhythm and modulation through the different status of being.

The individual in its essence is something more than a limited synthesis for the temporary utility of life in a particular body. It determines the body and its vehicles. It maintains through the inner spirit an active union with the oversoul and through the vehicle of composite body a relation to the enveloping physical and mental surrounding, enlarging the orbit of his being as it rises in inner and outer rhythm.

The liberated individual can enjoy the divine in the transcendence united with him and enjoy at the same time the divine in the other individuals and in the cosmic being.

The process of self-explication, called *Lila*, is not thought by the author an unaccountable mystery. It is a movement in delight which has its expression through self-concealing and self-revealing, through self-forgetfulness and self-discerning. "There is," according to the author, "an attraction in ignorance itself because it provides us with the joy of discovery, a surprise and great adventure of the soul." It is because of this that there is plunge of the self-stirring of spirit into the inconscience of matter in order that the new affirmation of *Saccidananda* can be established in its apparent opposite.

The book will be welcome as a neo-interpretation of the classical thought of the Vedanta inspired by rare psychic and occultist experiences formulated in a synthetic structure of thought. It is thought-provoking and should find a place in curriculum of studies for the M.A. Examination in Philosophy of Indian universities.

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA

AMALESH GHOSH, M.A., B.T.

VI

ADULT EDUCATION

ACCORDING to the estimate of the Hartog Committee, no less than a sum of Rs. 14·4 crores representing about 60% of the total expenditure on Primary Education in British India, had been wasted. It was found that large numbers of scholars left the schools after 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 years of schooling, and, only 10% of those entering the Primary schools were to be found in the 5th. The waste was and still is, heaviest in Class II. The present figures for this wastage have improved a little and now from 15% to 28% scholars only reach Class V and the waste of money is roughly Rs. 3 crores annually out of a total of Rs. 8·5 crores for British India. Mr. Arthur Mayhew was the first to draw attention to this "Wastage" and the Linlithgow Commission and the Hartog Committee reiterated the appalling wastage of money and energy.

Scholars who reach Class V of a Primary school, may be presumed to have gained permanent literacy but those who leave the schools earlier, possibly do not care to keep up their knowledge of the three R's. Since the number of those who leave the schools in the early stages is very much larger than those who go up to Class V, such facilities should be provided which will enable them to retain their knowledge and should not be allowed to relapse into illiteracy. About 14% of the total population of India are of school-going age. Only 5·2% of them attend the Primary schools, etc. About 8·8% of them, therefore, have to be brought to the school besides teaching millions of illiterate adults who have had no education and who now form a great weakness in the body-politic and the State owing to the fact that they are unaware of the greater responsibility and wider powers which have been passed on to them recently.

At present about 8% of the people of India can read and write. It stood at about 7% before the Reforms of 1919. The Reforms of 1935 have placed us in a position whence we have to look round to find

people who may judiciously guard their interests. That means that the people should have that education which will comfortably adjust them to the world outside ; which will develop their abilities to conceivable capacity and which will give them that knowledge which will help them to live the best life of which they are capable.

In England, the Adult Education Movement has gained greater success since 1850, with the growth of political consciousness. When the franchise was extended in 1867, it received more stimulus and with the introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1870, the movement stood on a sound footing. We have, perhaps to wait for the time when Compulsory Universal Primary Education would be introduced in our country.

The history of the Adult Education Movement in England is linked up with something else. With the expansion of the industries in England, a desire grew up in the minds of the workers themselves to improve their knowledge. In framing a scheme for the purpose, they insisted on their right to have a say in drawing up the curriculum and in the choice of the tutors. The characteristics of the movement were, therefore, its voluntary character; its freedom from external control and the initiative of the students themselves. The standard of education in the industrial areas is sometimes as high as the Honours Degree of a University, but in the Rural areas the course of studies centres round the life and immediate surrounding of the villagers. We may not find its parallel in our country. We may not find workers themselves demonstrating their desire to have schools to spend their leisure hours profitably but we may show those who have not the benefit of a liberal education, how best they can utilise their spare moments by enlarging their scope of knowledge.

Grappling the problem of the extension of education in the primary stage, is itself a great question in India. The existing arrangements for the expansion of adult education here is far from satisfactory, in so far as organisation and direction are concerned. There are Night schools and Part-time institutions in our country in the Urban areas only. Although these schools are primarily meant for the adults, they admit those children also, who, for some reason or other, cannot attend the day schools. In 1936-37, there were 2,016 schools with 62,691 male scholars and 11 schools with 946 female scholars, for the adults only. In 1928, the Hartog Committee estimated that there were 6,700 Adult schools in British India.

From this discrepancy in the figures it appears that there is no system in their expansion and no central organisation to control them, and so, without a definite policy, the official and non-official attempts are being ineffective. Knowledge and information on various subjects during the Mont-Ford Reforms used to be propagated through the various departments on such subjects as Health and Sanitation by means of Lantern Lectures; by opening village Libraries and village Schools for Men and Zenana Classes for Women and by helping qualified medical men to settle down in the Rural areas. Other means of propaganda and publicity were also tried.

A host of small and big welfare centres which have been established with the object of doing social service are giving a part of their attention in imparting knowledge and information to the masses, specially for the backward classes. The special characteristic of all these institutions is their absence of co-ordination.

The Departments of Public Health of almost all the provinces get films produced for publicity purposes on such subjects as the Prevention and Cure of Diseases; Personal Hygiene and Epidemic Diseases. Attractive Posters and Placards are also produced by them. Lantern Lectures and Moving Exhibitions are now-a-days sent out to tour in the interior parts of the country. These forces undoubtedly are doing some work in this field.

Since 1937, tremendous activity has been evident in all the provinces for the re-organisation of the Departments of Rural Reconstruction and the Central Co-operative Banks. The Officers of these Departments are given training in suitable centres to carry on the administration of the Departments with efficiency and to the best interests of the country. Along with the duty of administration of their Department they may be given some charge of the supervision of the education of the Masses of India. In the centres for the training of these Officers, such subjects like the Uplifting the Masses and Educating the Masses may be included along with the instruction on the Principles and the Methods of Rural Reconstruction.

Various methods have been tried and many schemes have been prepared in the course of the last three years to liquidate illiteracy. The special features of these attempts have been Drives on literacy through "Weeks;" through (mildly forced) voluntary efforts of School and College students during their long vacations; through Adult Education Committees; through the agency of Registration

Officers of Government; through the Central Co-operative Banks and through the Poster and Radio Broadcasts and the other modern methods of Publicity. Leaving aside the educative value of these efforts, one may ask, how far they are capable of producing results. It is known that people, who have no knowledge of the three R's, write their names (with practice) for the purpose of receiving their monthly pay for years together, till retirement. Would instances of this nature, advance literacy in any way?

Following the example set by Mr. F. L. Braynne of the Punjab, as early as 1930, broadcasting has been tried to serve the double purpose of educating the Masses by giving them some knowledge and useful information through entertainment. At the present moment, almost all the stations of the A.I.R. (All India Radio) set apart a certain period, specially in the evenings, for Rural Programmes. As in the Western countries, so in ours also, the purpose may be debatable and even questioned. The reasons are not altogether negligible. Anyway, the Talks, if they are regularly attended to by the villagers, will improve their knowledge considerably and may gradually foster in them the desire to know more for improving their status and financial affairs.

The Hartog Commission observed in their Report that it would be futile to adopt broadcasting as a means of educating the Adults or any section of the Rural population because of the multiplicity of the problems which appeared to them to be insurmountable. Mr. Braynne had shown that it was possible even with limited resources to take to this as a means of educating the Masses. The Madras Corporation had produced a scheme to start their work in this direction and were about to launch upon their programme of work when the Broadcasting Service was taken over by the State in 1932. Since then, fairly powerful stations have been installed in the provincial capitals and the village broadcasts on an organised basis have been the regular features of their programmes. In one of the districts of Bengal and in the villages around Delhi, the Rural Programmes have been utilised to entertain the village-folk. We may find Public Parks and the other places in the cities fitted with loud-speakers for the entertainment of the people of that locality. Broadcasting as a means of entertainment, education and propagation of knowledge has come to stay and we have to make the best use of this modern instrument.

Then, there is the other and perhaps more effective appliance than the Radio as an instrument of entertainment-cum-education in the form of the Films. The Cinema which is so frequently utilised by the Departments of Public Health to educate the people in the Principles of personal Hygiene and Sanitation has similarly become a thing of necessity. The advent of the "Talkies" has revolutionised their scope of work. The Eyes and the Ears may be simultaneously utilised with its help to communicate the matters of educative value to the audience. The function of the Cinema is to impart a certain amount of polish in manners, customs and thoughts to the Public. It may be made a more useful medium of instruction. The minds of children are plastic and they may be assuredly moulded as is desired by this form of entertainment with a good and properly directed material. Every Film may not be found to produce good results. Only those pictures which have been prepared with a distinctly educative purpose may be exhibited to the pupils and the public so as to form a distinct adjunct to the normal work in the Class-room. The Films should be "Educational."

France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Japan and England have made arrangements for producing and exhibiting Films of educational value in the schools of all grades. The schools in Japan exhibit these Films once a month at least. Films are now produced on subjects like History, Geography, Literature, Sciences, Medicine, etc. The necessary apparatus and the places of exhibition are either shared by a group of schools or they make suitable arrangements amongst themselves to derive the greatest advantage out of the existing facilities. An organisation similar to that prevailing in those countries may be evolved in our country also for their regular use in the Primary Schools and in the Adult Education organisations.

The governments of those countries have either given the lead in this direction or have subsidised the Film Producing Companies or have monopolised the educational branch of this Industry by instituting a Department of Educational Film Production attached to the Educational Head Quarters. There are Film Producing Companies here who may be asked by the governments to prepare Educational Films on their behalf and under their guidance. If that arrangement does not work satisfactorily, they may start their own Departments of Educational Film Production. The activities of the different Departments of the Government which are carrying on any

work in this direction may be consolidated and placed on a smoothly workable basis. The necessity of Co-ordination, Gradation of the subject-matters and of willing co-operation of the departments may not be over-emphasised.

The Indian Cinematograph Enquiry Committee of 1928, made valuable observations on this point and recommended that the Indian Film Producing Companies should be encouraged to prepare Educational Films. The Conference of the Directors of Information of the Provinces of India passed a resolution to the effect that government should take steps to see that the Film Companies operating in India produced Educational Films before granting them the permission to carry on their Industry. It is time perhaps for the Amendment of the Indian Cinematograph Act 1918 accordingly.

Such Films may be the ideal instruments for educating the Adults by the least possible effort by the Instructor as well as the scholar. If the provincial governments produced the Films it would be far easier for them to co-ordinate the activities of the Instructors of the different bodies by arranging to send round the Films and Projectors to the local centres in the districts. The services of the workers in the field of Adult Education and of those engaged in the duty of Rural Reconstruction work may be fully utilised as and when necessary according to the needs of each centre and according to the requirements of the villagers. The tendency of the growth and the line along which the Movement is showing signs of improvement, may be made full use of in tackling the problem.

The supreme need is, therefore, of consolidation and of a suitable course of studies to which all the organisations should subscribe. There should be a *Code* similar to that of England to the provisions of which the organisations must conform so as to be eligible for the purpose of receiving grants-in-aid from the provincial funds. In England, the expenses of Organisation, Direction and the Fees of the Tutors, which are the principal items of expenditure, are met partly from the funds of the Voluntary Bodies and the Universities. The major portion comes from the grants of the Board of Education and of the Local Education Authorities. It amounts to about £ 70,000 annually. The introduction of a Code will imply proper inspection of the educational organisation of this nature. There may be a Central Body like the Central Advisory Board of Education of the

Government of India to direct the Adult Education Movement with the provincial Branches and a suitable Inspectorate to see to the smooth working of their duties.

It has been found that the most profitable types of propaganda are those which reach the people through the groups of which they are members and thus they link up with their existing interests. In our Urban areas it may be easy to find people who have by their own efforts derived some benefits from further education. Such persons may be entrusted with the task of helping their fellow brethren. Similar efforts may be made in the Rural areas also. Enthusiastic villagers with some education may not be wanting there. Having gained some knowledge by their persistent application, industry and perseverence, they would, given the proper encouragement, willingly volunteer to do this work.

The task is enormous. Sufficient funds are required for carrying out the scheme. Very little may be expected from the provincial allotments and in the face of this great handicap, a big and intensive enterprise has to be launched. Therefore, the greater part of this urgent Movement will have to rely on voluntary efforts of the Official and the non-official. Teaching the adults who may have gone beyond a certain age when the learning process is slow, requires the devoted attention of the teachers, and a good supply of special Books, Charts, Models, Diagrams, etc., should be available to obtain good results out of these efforts. Here, unlike the progressive countries, the question is to teach the adults to read and write their own language first and then to enlarge upon their knowledge in gradual stages. The process of education will move along the desired track by presenting the suitable materials to the adults only when they are literates.

When that stage is reached the question of suitable Literature and Periodicals will automatically come in. These booklets and newspapers should be specially prepared for use in the Adult Education Centres. The Universities may be able to help in this direction a great deal more than the efforts they are making at present for assisting the schemes of Social Reconstruction in general and the Literacy Campaigns in particular. They may institute special courses for the training of workers in this field more intensively either by making them regular subjects as an extra-curricular activity of their students

in the colleges or may hold regular classes for giving intensive training in the subjects, similar to the work being done by the Graduate School of Social Service of Bombay. Institutions like those at Gosaba, Santi Niketan and the short training centres for the Officers of the Governments may be made regular schools for such training, under the auspices of the Universities.

MILITARY EDUCATION

G M. JADHAV

II

THERE should be a Central Military College in India. For this C. M. College, Bangalore, would be a suitable place Good graduates from the different provinces and states should be selected in the following proportion: 100 each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, United Province and Punjab ; 50 each from Assam, Orissa, Central Province and Berar, Sind and North West Frontier Province ; and 150 from the different states. This would give a total of 1,000 cadets at the C. M. College. These graduate cadets should be over 21 and under 23 at the time they join the C. M. College. A fixed number of cadets from Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Persia, China, Russia, Japan, France, Germany, England, Italy, United State of America should also attend the Central Military College every year. A fixed number of Indian cadets should be sent to the different countries for military training in exchange for the cadets attending the C. M. College in India. The Indian cadets would benefit by contact with the cadets from different countries. Friendships would develop which would later on be of use to India as well as to other countries. In this matter India should take a farsighted view of the whole problem of defence. Hundreds and thousands of Indians must be trained to do this work thoroughly. The following Two Year Course is suggested:

(1) Employment of the Various Arms ; (2) History ; (3) Geography ; (4) Administration ; (5) Legislation ; (6) Topography ; (7) Infantry and Artillery Munitions and Firing ; (8) Artillery ; (9) Engineering ; (10) Aviation ; (11) Applied Sciences ; (12) Hygiene ; (13) Languages.

During the first year the course should cover in a general but elementary fashion, all of the subjects which in the second year should be more fully developed. The object set out should be that at the end of his first nine months' work a cadet should get a fair notion of what is indispensable for an infantry officer in campaign ; during the second year's course, this notion should be more fully developed

and its application explained upon the terrain, with the idea of giving clear conceptions as to the different phases of the offensive and defensive battle.

By far the largest amount of time and weight for class standing should be assigned to two subjects: The Employment of the Various Arms and Military History and Geography.

The Employment of the Various Arms should be covered in the first year in seventeen lectures, one oral test and one written test. During the second year there should be sixteen lectures and two written tests.

The courses in Military History and Geography.—These two subjects should be taught in close co-ordination with the Employment of the Various Arms, the object should be to bring out the permanent principles of the art of war by showing what ensues by obeying them or disregarding them, and the influence of the terrain upon these principles. The evolution of methods during the last two centuries should be covered in a general way, while those resulting from the 1914-18 war and the 1939 war should be brought out in greater detail An effort should be made to initiate students into the material and moral realities of modern combat from the point of view of the private soldier and that of the man who commands a small or large unit.

The course in History during the first year should be developed in eleven lectures, one written and one oral test. In the second year, in twelve lectures one written and one oral test. Military Geography during the first and second year should be covered in thirteen lectures, one written and one oral test. It will thus be seen that these two subjects taken together, as they habitually are, occupy more time than the Employment of Various Arms, the latter being assigned thirty-three lectures in the two years and History and Geography 45.

In Geography the following titles of lectures are suggested: method of studying a theatre of operation ; application of this method to the Maratha and Sikh Wars ; the application of this method to the military operations of 1857-58 ; a careful study of the Maratha country or Sikh country or of Delhi or Lucknow operations in 1857-58.

In the second year the students should study method for studying the war-power of a nation ; the demographic and ethnic questions; number and race ; food supply and importations ; the question of coal ; coke; electric energy with the needs and resources of the principal powers ; iron, steel, fuel, oil and gasolene ; regions providing

them and transportation ; textiles, rubber and raw material needed for powders ; the great international lines of communication ; wireless and cables ; the strong and weak points of India's war-potential ; the same of Japan, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Persia, Burma, Thailand, Afghanistan, Egypt.

Topography.—The students should have knowledge of descriptive geometry and map-reading before they join the C. M. College. This fact should be made known to all. At the C. M. College practical work and lectures should be organised.

The Battalion and Company (" tactical ") officers should have a large share in this instruction. They should assist the " professors " at lectures and questioning and examination ; they should be required to develop and confirm the topographical knowledge of the cadets during the exercises over which they themselves preside at the sand pile, at the papier maché maquettes and on the terrain.

A single department should embrace the subjects of Fire-arms, Artillery and Shooting. There should be eighteen lectures and three written tests during the two years. Some of the subjects treated in the first year should be explosives, internal and external ballistics, the automatic weapon ; during the second year, fire of divisional artillery on the defensive and on the offensive ; deployment of artillery support on the offensive and defensive ; there should be practical exercises and written tests in laying, observation of fire, indirect fire, fire against tanks. Only technical details should be covered by the department, the tactical side should be confided to the department of " Employment of the Various Arms."

In Engineering there should be nine lectures and two written tests in two years, supplemented by visits to an engineering battalion for bridge building and destructions.

Aviation—material, reconnaissances, defence—should be covered in nine lectures and one test in the two years with three visits to aviation establishments. (It is for this reason that I suggest Bangalore as the right place for the C. M. College. Vizagapatam is not far away. There should be ship-building yards and a good Naval School at Vizagapatam. The military officers should know something not only about aviation but also about navigation and naval defence—it may be all elementary knowledge but it will complete the picture of national defence. In the same way Indian naval officers must know something about the army and air force ; and Indian air force officers

must also know something about the other two services. We do not want watertight compartments in the three defence services. From the very beginning sincere co-operation should be encouraged among the officers of the three services).

The course in Applied Sciences should cover, in seventeen lectures during the two years, optics, gas, telephones, wireless and motors. Twelve of these lectures should be devoted to automobiles, in combination with practical demonstration and driving lessons. The instructors should be all specialists.

Administration should be taught in lectures devoted entirely to the practical paper-work of the company.

Hygiene should be taught in twelve lectures and two written tests in two years. These should cover the personal hygiene of soldiers, their clothing, equipment, marches, camps and trenches ; the rôle of officers in the matter of food supervision, barracks, alcoholism, venereal diseases, over-fatigue, horse and mule hygiene.

Legislation.—There should be 6 lectures in two years. The object is to acquaint cadets with the general organisation of the army and of the nation in time of war, recruitment mobilisation and the most important provisions of the military and civil codes.

Languages.—French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Modern Greek, Turkish, Persian, Chinese, Burmese, Japanese, and Siamese, should be taught. A cadet should choose any one language he likes. In this way India would have military officers knowing different languages. Five teachers each from the twelve countries mentioned above should be invited to the Central Military College to teach their respective languages. The teachers should be given free board and lodging at the Central Military College. They should be paid by their own Governments.

Miscellaneous.—From 10 to 15 lectures should be given during the two years, mostly by outside authorities, on foreign armies, on economics, on aviation and navy and on some of the great questions of the day.

Lectures should always be delivered to a whole class ; some lessons and some interrogations should be by company. Questions, practical work and written tests should constantly intervene. Theoretical instruction in military subjects should usually be followed by application on the terrain.

For chemistry, geology, physics, mathematics, drawing, electricity, wireless, etc., necessary arrangements should be made.

Sports should be encouraged.

There should be a good library. The cadets should be encouraged to work in groups. The instructors should guide the cadets and tell them how to work in groups. Collective work and co-operation will help the cadets in their studies.

Great pains should be taken to co-ordinate not only indoor and outdoor instruction, but that given in the several departments; for example, the Commandant of cadets should be charged with ensuring co-ordination between what is taught in class or in practice (1) by the artillery officers, (2) by the infantry officers and (3) by the company instructors, in the matter of ranging, ballistics, fire-control and observation.

The Employment of the Various Arms is the most important department. The most important text-books will deal with this department. All of the subjects taught in class should be feeders to this course and find their application in it. For example, the class-work dealing with artillery, engineering, topography, small arms, aviation and gas should find its daily tactical application in the outdoor exercises and indoor problems that make up the course in Employment of Various Arms. This should ensure that Indian military doctrines, as developed year by year at the War College (about this I shall write later), shall penetrate the minds of cadets from the first week they join the Central Military College; after two years of persistent teaching and illustration they should have so entered the bone and marrow of these young men that when they join regiments, they should find themselves intellectually and morally at home in the great family of Indian officers. Their knowledge may be less wide than that of older comrades, but it is the same knowledge.

Next in importance to Employment of the Various Arms, come the subjects of military history, military geography, and topography.

The whole effort at the Central Military College should be concentrated upon sending the graduate forth equipped with a method of work and study upon which he can build. Each day of his experience at the Central Military College should be arranged to further this purpose. He will have to study, answer questions, put down in writing what he

has learned and pass examinations; but this should not be the most essential part of his life at the Central Military College. His mental and moral experiences there should be made as nearly as possible the same that any recruit called to the colours will probably pass through and that the cadet, become an officer, must help him to pass through. The early impressions which a first year cadet should get of military life should be exactly those which mobilised men will undergo during their first contacts with officers, their comrades and barrack-life. The Central Military College battalion, outside of the class-room, should be made the image of what a good battalion in the Indian army ought to be. The enforcement of discipline, the mechanism of practical instruction, the methods of rewarding and punishing should be the same; so also should be the relations between instructors and their men. All that a cadet absorbs of these relations he should apply the day he joins.

The teaching staff of the Central Military College should be composed of army officers and civilian professors and lecturers.

The plan of the Central Military College for India came to my mind in 1912 when with a number of boy-scouts from the Manchester Grammar School I spent six weeks in France—a trek of 500 miles on foot. I remember that trek even today as clearly as if I had returned from France only this September instead of 28 years ago. Our leader was the late Mr. A. H. Hope, one of the best and kindest of men. Mr. Hope is no more; but can Hope ever die? I told Mr. Hope in 1912 in France that one day I would write about a Central Military College for India and that I would take Saint-Cyr Military School as my model. We live in Hope.

In the *Army and Navy Journal*, Washington, February 3, 1940, there is an article on Saint-Cyr Military School by Colonel T. Bentley Mott. He has described the School as he saw it working. I have taken the whole plan and made certain changes to suit Indian conditions. I have done this with full acknowledgment to Col. Bentley. From the Commandant of Saint-Cyr I have received an illustrated booklet. It was posted just before the Germans entered Paris. I knew many officers from Saint-Cyr. Many of them were killed in 1914-18. Marshal Petain has written a Foreword to the prospectus of Saint-Cyr, a copy of which I have here on my table. I believe that the spirit of Joan of Arc will give back to France what she has lost since June, 1940.

INDIAN DEFENCE

"Whoever writes on strategy and on tactics ought to confine himself to teaching *national* strategy and tactics only, for no other can be profitable to the nation he is addressing." Von der Goltz.

"Our task is to study and teach *war*. Before we undertake that study, it behoves us to determine exactly what this thing 'war' of which we are speaking really is. Do we all agree about the subject we have in mind when we use the word '*war*' ?

If we do not, if we are not engaged in analysing the same idea, misunderstandings and therefore mistakes are bound to arise.

Let us, then, fix today the general features of war, in particular its *object* and *means*, the rational way in which the *goal* must be conceived in the France of to-day, so that we may find in that study the foundation of our conduct, that is, of our tactics.

For "*war is produced by, and receives its form from the ideas, feelings and relations which obtain at the moment it breaks out*" (Clausewitz.)

The lines quoted above are from Chapter II, Principles of War by Marshal Foch. The Marshal goes on to explain that the idea and theory of war and national defence in Brussels is quite different from that in Paris and in Paris it is quite different from that in London, Rome, Madrid, Tokyo, etc. This is quite clear to all. Each nation has its own national problem of defence to solve. In India we have a big problem before us. I have suggested how 1,000 Indian officers can be brought together and trained to defend India. We have 100 young men each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, United Province and Punjab ; 50 each from Assam, Orissa, Central Province and Berar, Sind and North West Frontier Province ; and 150 from the states. We have India together on a small scale. During the first year there are 1,000 cadets. During the second year another 1,000 cadets arive. It does not require a prophet to come and tell us that these young men will benefit by their mutual contact and that India will have a fine set of officers ready to defend her. All the problems of national defence can be studied by the cadets. The collective work which they do for the defence of India is a sure guarantee that India will be properly defended. To the Central Military College let me add a Central Air Force College and a Central Naval College. We have here the three defence services and their officers. The C.M. College and the C.A. College should be at Bangalore. The

C.N. College should be at Vizagapatam. The young men who are trained will become good military, naval and air force officers. They will understand all the problems of national defence and in course of time they will evolve a theory of national defence. It is by collective work that we can solve the problem of national defence. Hundreds and thousands of Indians must give their brain power to this work.

Country or Continent ?

"Some means of summing up India and the Indians may yet be found. Always at the back of my mind has been the idea that there is a real unity in India. I am very well aware that many keen and experienced observers who have written about India have said that India is not a country but a continent, and that it contains not one race but many races. Yet I have always been conscious that there is some kind of a thread which binds together all the provinces and all the races of which India is composed. Dashing about India in fast trains, in the course of a journey from one end to the other, one passes through provinces which contain populations differing from each other in respect of race, language, social customs and in a hundred other ways. Yet one never feels that one is out of India. Bengal is India, Behar is India, Agra and Oudh are India, the Punjab is India, Madras is as different from Bombay as Spain is from Russia, or Italy from Sweden. But the inhabitants of all these provinces are undoubtedly Indians." (Indian Peepshow by Henry Newman.)

I have also found that Bombay is India, Satara is India, Bangalore is India, Madras is India, Delhi, Lahore, the Khyber, Lucknow, Calcutta, Cuttack, Shillong, etc., are all India. It is for this reason that I have suggested that 1,000 young men from the different parts of India should be trained together at the Central Military College ; at the Central Naval College ; at the Central Air Force College. This gives us 3,000 young men every year busy learning everything about the defence of India. It is only with this nationwise outlook on life that we can lay the foundations of a national defence. If the British help this work, so much the better for them and also for India. It is quite clear that Indians will no longer tolerate the idea of the defence of India by outsiders. The defence of India is the birthright of the people of India. I am convinced that the British will recognise the force and sincerity of

this claim. In the meanwhile Indians must also do their best to create this feeling.

GREAT THOUGHTS

I am very fond of nature study. I was reading what Henry Newman had to say about caterpillars and moths. I quote the following lines:—

"These great lepidoptera are to the insect world what great and amazing thoughts are in the world of human activity. They come from where we know not and are off again after having flushed the cheek for a bare minute. When we want to capture, and reproduce on paper, the thought that has illuminated and amazed the mind, we fail. A similar thought may flush another cheek on another day, and perhaps for this once it is caught and retained. The man who can do that is a poet. Do you remember, reader, the theory put into a story by a poet that the greatest thoughts had an existence by themselves in ether? There were some men who had the capacity of reaching up and catching these thoughts and putting them into words. Keats was such a man, and when he wrote the 'Eve of St. Agnes,' he was particularly in a mood to tune himself in with the ether, just as one tunes in with a radio set. What I would like to suggest is that the atlas and the moon moth and similar moths are great thoughts that have been materialised into winged but elusive forms."

For the Library of the Bihar Military School I bought books on butterflies and moths. I was asked why I bought these books. I replied that military education is not a watertight compartment. One subject leads on to another and in course of time I am sure to talk about nature study when I give a lecture on military history or military science. Why not ? I can connect the subject in my talk. We have just read above what Henry Newman has to say about moths and great thoughts. In this article I have put an idea before the nation. There are many Indians who share that idea. I can only hope that all will co-operate and make the idea a realised fact. Some time will be necessary for its metamorphosis. On the 17th of December, 1939, I found a big green caterpillar at Ranchi. It made a cocoon for itself. I brought the cocoon to Patna with me. On the last day of May, 1940, I saw a blaze of colours in the glass jar in which the cocoon was placed. I had never seen

such a wonderful moth before. I was amazed at the glory I saw. In September, 1940, I read "Indian Peepshow" by Henry Newman. The first time I opened the book it was at the place where Indian unity is mentioned. The next time it was opened I found an account of the life history of moths. This may have been a pure coincidence. But I think it was more than that. I had been thinking about the beautiful moth I had seen and it was more than mere coincidence that I came across "Indian Peepshow". I have given some space to this thought because I also believe that in ether somewhere great thoughts are in existence. We have to tune ourselves in with them, just as we tune in with a radio set.

I am now thinking about something that happened in December, 1900. I was given a good book about the Rani of Jhansi and I was told about the great men and women of India. I still remember that time. A great idea was firmly fixed in my mind. It has taken many years to realise that idea as a concrete and accomplished fact. I do not know when India will have a Central Military College of the type I have suggested in this article. Many factors have to be taken into consideration. There is the important question of finance. Every province and state must make a definite contribution every year to the Central Military College. There are all the details of time table, fees, rules, regulations, etc. to be arranged. My own estimate is that each cadet should pay Rs. 500/- (five hundred) per year for his course of studies and for his board and lodging. Simple camp-life for two years will do the cadets good. In the matter of simplicity we should follow the example of the Japanese and not the expensive habits of the British. Indians should learn to live in a simple manner. Please read the Military Side of Japanese Life by Kennedy for further information. The Central Military College will help the cause of military education and national defence.

LIBRARY

I used to go regularly to the Free Reference Library, Manchester, during my school days. There I found books on subjects in which I was interested—and I was interested in almost every subject under the sun. Science, literature, history, astronomy, army, navy, air-force, geology, botany, zoology, architecture, etc. etc. In London the British Museum Library was a place where I spent many happy hours. In Germany and France also I found good libraries.

The Central Military College should have a good library. The cadets who study there are already graduates in different subjects. In order to keep up their interest in their subject a good library and good laboratories are absolutely necessary. There will be definite hours for practical work and theoretical work. In their free hours the students should go to the Library and read whatever books they like best. Freedom of teaching and freedom of learning should be the motto of the C. M. College. This may come as a shock to people who are old fashioned and believe that there should be no freedom of thought in a Military College. Imagine for a moment what progress there would have been in medicine, chemistry, physics, botany, etc. if there had been no freedom of thought and if all the scientists had been tied down by laws and regulations which cripple all mental activities and bring them under "sealed pattern" rule. This is perhaps one reason why military science has not made the same progress as say medicine, electricity, etc. have made. Military thought has been too much under the rule of the War Office. We can hope for better results after the present war. I think it was Carlyle who said that a good Library was a University. I should suggest that the students of the C. M. College live in the University atmosphere with all its advantages and also all the advantages of military virtues.

"The completion of the greatest work demands
One guiding spirit to a thousand hands."

Goethe (Faust)

Indian Army

In the Indian Army we must have the following branches under the command of Indian officers:

Infantry (mechanised)	Tank Corps
Field Artillery	Army Service Corps
Mounted Artillery	Railway Corps
Mountain Artillery	Telegraph Corps
Heavy Artillery	Balloon Corps
Heavy Field Artillery	Signal Corps
Anti-aircraft Artillery	Air force
Cavalry (mechanised)	Army Education Corps
Engineers	Ordnance Corps
Parachute Corps	Army Medical Corps

In the Central Military College education and training should be given to the students who will become good officers in the Indian Army. In every province also there should be a Military College for training officers for the National Militia.

There should be 500,000 Indian soldiers, 200,000 Indian sailors and 200,000 Indian airmen under the command of Indian officers. These men and officers should be selected from the different provinces in the following proportion:

10 per cent. each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, United Province and Punjab;

5 per cent. each from Assam, Orissa, Central Province and Berar, Sind and North West Frontier Province.

15 per cent. from the Indian states.

The strength of the National Militia should be:

100,000 men each in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, United Province and the Punjab;

50,000 men each in Assam, Orissa, Central Province and Berar, Sind and North West Frontier Province.

150,000 should be trained by the Indian states.

Similar arrangements must be made also for the navy and the air force. Every Indian is a born defender of India.

HINDU CONTRIBUTION TO MUSIC

TARUN GHOSHAL

THE development of the present diatonic scales (both major and minor) is a controversial subject and no Western historian would yield an inch of ground to admit that the Hindus had any hand in it. We are taught to learn that a sort of a system of tetrachord existed in Greece about the eighth century B.C., forming the four strings of their lyre and that a certain Terpander (early 7th cent.) added another three strings to it, making what we call two tetrachords, *viz.*, E, F, G, A—A, B, C, D. But it was through the ingeniousness of Pythagorus, the greatest musician of all times, who lived nearly a century later, that the present form of scale was obtained. Instead of two correlated tetrachords with the note 'A' (mese) as common, he arranged two separate ones with the interval of a tone between them and completed the octave. Thus, E, F, G, A—B, C, D, E are two distinct parts of an octave with an interval of a full note between A and B. The higher of the tetrachords was called Diezeutic (disjunct). We need not go into detail about the Pythagorean musical philosophy by means of which he fixed up the exact positions in the scale of the fifth and the fourth, because that would lead us astray from the path of our objective ; suffice it to bear in mind that he has remained the " founder of theoretical music " from whom has evolved what we term as the " great system."

We do not dispute the Western assumption that Pythagorus established the octave as the natural great division for the musical scale. But was he really the inventor of the system ? Or, was he subjected to a considerable outside influence before he could decide upon such a revolutionary change on Terpander's system ? This is the problem that confronts us and let us see what light can be thrown on an intricate point like this.

> Dr. William Pole tells us in ' The Philosophy of Music ' : " We find in the sanscrit literature traces of a distinct musical system in India, some three thousand years old, and which is still cultivated there. They also have the octave division, which is sub-divided theoretically into 22 parts...their practical scale

> consists of 7 degrees, among which the 22 theoretical intervals are unequally divided."

He has found that the Hindu system has many analogies with that of the Greeks and that the Hindus form diverse modes by effecting changes in the disposition of the intervals of the scale. Further, he remarks :

> "...the sub-division of the octave by the fifth and fourth is clearly acknowledged."

Dr. Pole thinks that the Hindus foreran the Greeks in the invention of the scale.

Another great Aryan division—the Persians—had possessed a system resembling our own, with only this difference that instead of 22, they had 24 parts (enharmonies). Some of these Persians are said to have migrated westwards, particularly to Greece, and settled there and in Asia Minor some two thousand years before the Christian era. The Phrygians probably were their descendants. They afterwards mixed with other colonists, such as, Dorians, Ionians, etc., upon whom they exercised considerable influence. Dr. Pole thinks that the Persian music is the remote ancestor of the present European music, since " their connection with our music is genealogically established."

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins in the ' Music of Orient and Occident ' points out :

> " Strabo states that Pythagorus derived his knowledge of music from India, "

and affirms :

> " Musical researches prove more and more that if Greek and Egyptian music were not derived from the root stock of Indian music, then there must have been some forgotten race which acted as musical parent to all three. The old Greek modes are all found in common use amongst Indian musicians."

She wails the misfortune of Hindusthan in the following words :

> " Western musicians do not know that India is a musical nation or that it has developed its own musical science."

The source of Strabo, the Greek Geographer, who lived about the 1st century A.D., is the Greek Eratosthenes (ca. 196 B.C.) (see Prof.

P. K. Hitti's ' History of the Arabs '). That Pythagorus came to Egypt is certain ; only the extent of his travels is not sufficiently known. But, there too, clarification is gradually dawning. Dr. Philippe A. Sandre, the worthy Principal of the Calcutta School of Music, whilst taking his Doctorate in London some 35 years back, stormed his examiners with his research work which clearly enunciated with reference to Strabo that Pythagorus did not stop in Egypt, but came as far as India. This was news to the Directors of Higher Studies.

These facts notwithstanding, authors are not rare who would arbitrarily sing hallelujah to all that is Western. An instance will make this clear. Mr. S. J. Sarkies is of opinion in his own original way :

> " There is a belief in India that the Indian scales...have existed for several thousand years. Considering what history tells us of the origin and development of scales from the time of Pythagorus down to the period when scales of seven notes were established, it is not possible for us to accept that belief."

The same author in discussing the probable date of composition of Bharata's Nātya Śāstra writes :

> "I do not believe in the fifth century or earlier period for it."

According to him, 12th century A.D. will be an approximation. Why not the other way round ? That even in pre-historic period, Greece was in communication with Hindusthan is unquestionable. The South Arabians were the intermediaries and acted as a connecting link between the Greeks on the one hand and the Hindus on the other. Prof. Hitti gives out :

> "Its (Arabia's) South-Eastern people were possibly the ones who acted as intermediaries between Egypt, Messopotamia and the Punjab—the three focal centres of earliest trade."

Is it too much to suggest that the land of the many temples attracted Pythagorus as much as that of the pyramids ? Is it also unwarranted to assume that the intelligent Pythagorus was struck by the strange intonation of an alien scale sung or played by a compatriot just returning from a long trade voyage in the East and, hence, started on a painful journey with the intention of verifying for himself the origin and authenticity of the musical scale ? It can be presumed that his

first conviction was that the home of the scale was Egypt ; and, since Egypt disappointed him, he had no other alternative than to extend the sphere of his voyage. This is probably the truth, since Strabo corroborates it.

Let us take the thread of discussion from the other end. The four Vedas, the religious works of the Hindus, are said to have been composed between 1500 B.C. and 900 B.C., three to five thousand years before the birth of Christ. One of these Vedas, the Sāmaveda, was mainly that portion of the Ṛgveda which was suitable for singing. The reason that there is no mention in the Bauddha Jātakas of the fourth Vedas, *i.e.*, Sāmaveda, is probably because it is not an original composition, but only a collection from the Saṁhitās (Vedic texts) of the chantable hymns. The scale-names: Ārcik, Gāthik, Sāmik, Swarāntara, Aüḍava, Ṣāḍava and Sampūrṇa,—clearly signify how gradually a scale of one note developed into a scale of seven notes from the Vaïdic Yuga. The monotonous uttering of one note during Pūjābs (Archanā) was Ārcik. In reciting a Gāthā (ballad), two notes were taken recourse to. And the Sāmaveda was principally chanted in a scale of three notes, although in several instances more than three were used (see *infra*), thus explaining the term: Sāmik. Western scholars have observed that even in the other Vedas, notes more than three were sometimes used. From this we can conclude that the earlier part of the Sāmaveda, *i.e.*, Pūrvārcik, collected for the sake of giving impetus to those who intended to develop the art of singing—the art that had already taken root in the minds of the Vaïdic Aryans, closely followed in the wake of the other Vedas. A further proof that music was already a developed fine art can be given from Kaütilya's Arthaśāstra, where the Ṛṣi is desirous of encouraging it by government subsidies. Swarāntara was an unstable note, because another Grāma (prob. Mā-Grāma) could be taken from it. Hence, it was not possible for a singer to fix with the help of this note the tessitura of his voice ; the fear of going into another key, *i.e.*, modulation was apparent. The importance of a tonic was understood even at that remote period. And, as regards the other three names, they still retain their original significance.

The most ancient authorities on the Sāman scale, *viz.*, Ṛkprātiśākhya, Bṛhaddevatā, etc., are said to have been produced, according to Western orientalists, "at least fourth century B. C." But we may contend historically that no great work based on the Brahminical

Vedas could have been undertaken during a period when clashes between Hinduism and Buddhism were going on and millions were forsaking the fold of Hindu cult. Consequently, it can be alleged that the works on the Sāmaveda were already completed in or about the sixth century B. C. This is also authenticated by the Brāhmaṇas (commentaries on the Vedic texts or Saṁhitās), composed "not later than the sixth century B.C.," which set down rules for singing the Vedic hymns. In all these works we find that the seven notes of a scale: Kruṣṭa, Prathama, Dwitīya, Tṛtīya, Caturtha, Pancama (or Mandra) and Ṣāṣṭha (or Atiswara, or Antya), were already evolved. Atiswara is an "extra" (or last) note like the Greek Proslambanomenos, but in the opposite direction. But Kruṣṭa (or Kṛṣta) holds an apparent ambiguity. If it means 'the note from which others are drawn,' then it also explains the Atiswara, *i.e.*, Antya, 'the last note' of the scale. According to this explanation, Kṛṣta occupied a position almost identical with what Ṣaḍja occupies to-day, and we are corroborated in this assumption by Puṣpasūtra (prob. pre-Buddha era) which mentions 'Kruṣṭādi' for the whole series. The author of this treatise could not have mentioned or coined the word (Kruṣṭa + Ādi), unless Kruṣṭa had a greater importance than the other notes, *i.e.*, unless it was a tonic or a note from which other notes came into existence. As for the other notes, *viz.*, Prathama, Dwitīya, etc., they clearly show that the scale developed in the downward direction.

The same names: Kruṣṭa (Kṛṣta), Prathama, Dwitīya, etc., afterwards were converted into those that we know at present. But, before this stage was reached, the Hindus attempted to develop a mnemonic system for their scale, and this can be seen in the process of evolution in the Sāmatantra which was probably composed before the Buddhistic era for the reasons given *supra*. In this work we find that an attempt was being made to invent some facile system with the help of the five Varṇas: labial, dental, lingual, palatal and guttural. The Hindus at that time were realising that for an extensive musical education and for its spread it was necessary to invent some well-chosen words that could replace the original Kruṣṭādi words, without at the same time impairing the sense conveyed by them. In fact, they were after some words, the first letters of which could be uttered with ease, so that the whole series of the gamut, when taken in the mouth, could be pronounced in a sweep in a glissando. The first letters of the Kruṣṭādi series, *viz.*, Kṛ., Pra., Dwi., Tṛ., etc.

are practically untenable in the mouth, and thus, the necessity arose for words of better mnemonic worth. This is probably the explanation for the origin of the later Swaragrāma, Sā, Ri, Gā, Mā, etc., which was found in an embryonic state in the Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya.

The scale was already complete and consisted of seven notes. So, Ṣaḍja took its origin with the sense of a 'note from which the other six notes were born,' and can be compared to Kṛṣṭa, 'the note from which others are drawn.' Madhyama is the medial note (*cp.* Terpander's Mese), of the Saptaka (cluster of seven), and not of the Grāma (octave). The Śruti arrangement: 4, 3, 2, 4, 4, 3, 2,—of the Hindu scale points out that the major triad was preferred to the tritone. Pañcama, as a term, was retained though it is not possible for us to determine with exactness the position it held in the days of yore, owing to the contradictory explanations put forward by the numerous commentators on the Sāman scale. We know that Pañcama does not undergo alteration and is, like Ṣaḍja, 'achala' and 'achyuta.' This peculiarity of the Hindu Fifth authorises us to assume that Pañcama, as the present-day Ṣaḍja does, did hold an important position amongst the notes and probably was the tonic of the scale, as it is at present of the disjunct tetrachord (Uttarāṅga). It is quite likely that the pitch of this note was identical with that of Mandra (*cp.* Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa), or with that of a śruti somewhere between Mandra and Atiswara. That at least one authority (Bṛhaddevatā) considers Mandra as a chest-note helps us further to surmise that all the notes from Pañcama in the descending scale were comprised in the Mandra Saptaka and endorses that Pancama enjoyed some sort of tonal position till the advent of Ṣaḍja in the field.

As regards the rest of the notes, the following explanation is given by Sjt. Harināràyaṇ Mukhopādhyāya of Benares for their nomenclature:

> "The old Hindus looked upon the bovine as the principal item of their wealth, and necessarily the bellowing of the bull appealed to their ears as nothing short of music. This found expression in the selection of the word, Bṛṣava (=Ṛṣava). Similarly, the chanting of the Vedas from distant temples or places of worship sounded to them like the humming of the bees or the twang of the strings of a musical instrument; hence, Gāndhāra (=Gankāra=Jhankāra). Dhaïvata originated from Dhī (intelligence). And in Niṣāda, we find a note 'in which all the notes terminate'."

Now, let us turn our attention to the greatest European scholar on Hindu music, Mr. A. H. Fox Strangways, who better than anybody else in the field has studied its history and principles, and see what he has to say on this subject. From the notation of the first hymn of the Sāmaveda: 'Ognāi āyāhi voitoyāi gṛṇāno'—as given by Mr. A. C. Burnell and as cited by Mr. Fox Strangways, we find that the compass comprises a scale: Dhā—Mā (=six notes). Other illustrations cited by this learned author from Dr. Erwin Felber's 'Die indische Musik der vedischen und der classischen Zeit' prove that even in the time of the Ṛgveda, a sixth note was known. Mr. Fox Strangways further observes:

> "In the Puṣpasūtra (9.26) we find that the Kauthamas sing the majority of their chants to five tones, a few to six, and two of them to seven tones."

We are therefore convinced that seven tones (equivalent to notes) existed in fact before the Buddha era. Further proofs are available from the Mahābhārata where we find mention of the seven notes of the scale. Interpolations on the original text of the Mahābhārata in successive generations do not disprove that it is a work of a very remote origin. Criticising the phrase: 'the sweet Gāndhāra'—in the Mahābhārata, Mr. Fox Strangways is of opinion that:

> ".....this implies a mode or scale, since no note is sweeter than another until it has a context."

In another place, he observes:

> "But a much more important passage is to be found in the Ṛkprātiśākhya, which is probably not later than 400 B.C. It is there said that there are twenty-one notes in all, seven for each voice register..." (*i.e.*, Mandra, Madhya and Tārā or Uttama Saptakas).

Though there is little doubt that both the Greeks and the Hindus inherited, from their common forefathers, their languages as well as their musical systems and though this may explain to a certain extent the likeness and the unlikeness between the two systems of scale, still the Hindus were by far the more advanced of the two cannot be denied. The Hindus were conversant with the cyclic rotation of the scale and hence, their Swaragrāma comprised only seven notes. On the other hand, it is likely that the Greeks had

no knowledge of this physical law (cp. Hypate Mesōn and Nete Diezeugmenōn, two different names for the same note, the former being one octave lower than the latter). Mr. Fox Strangways also allows greater credit to the Hindus. The following two passages adduced as evidence by the author of the 'Music of Hindustan' will bear out the above view :

> "There is another interest attaching to the word Kruṣṭa (highest). It shows us, as do also the ordinals, Prathama, Caturtha, that the Hindus, regarded the treble as high and the bass as low; as we do, and as the Greeks who name the lowest note, Hypate (highest), did not.
>
> "...the Indian Grāma did and the Greek Genos did not begin on a particular note."

From all the above facts and proofs, it is possible for us to deduce that the close correspondence between the Greek and Hindu scale might not have been accidental and that there had been an indirect, if not direct, Hindu influence on the Greek musical theory.

The enchanting pentatonic and hexatonic scales of the Hindus, which occupy a considerable portion of the number of our modes and which give pleasure to millions of our population even now, are, according to Mr. S. J. Sarkies, 'of historical interest.' He has 'never taken such scales seriously,' undoubtedly, since he has never cared to be initiated into the Hindu musical philosophy. This is probably the reason for his irony in the following passage:

> "Melodies containing as few as the first four notes of the scale are sung even to-day in India by those who have never heard of scales of five or six notes."

And he takes the bullock-cart drivers for his illustration. Why only the poor cartmen?—the best of the musicians would delight us with expositions of a three-note Mālaśrī or a four-note Hindole which is a transilient Rāga with four notes in the Ārohī (ascending scale) and five in the Avarohī (descending) such as (Sā, Gā, Mā, Dhā, Sā (high)—Sā (higher), Ni, Dhā, Mā (sharp), Gā, Sā. Mr. Sarkies thinks that Ṣāḍava and Aüḍava Rāgas originated in either of the two following ways:

1. In ancient times (during Terpander's days), when scales were limited to very few notes,

2. After scales of seven notes have been developed and other musicians vied with each other in composing Rāgas of different notes.

Since musicians of Hindusthan have not followed the Westerners in their method of harmonisation of melodies and of popular or folk songs and have confined themselves in their own sphere from time immemorial, the reasoning No. 2. cited above holds good, for this country. In European compositions, occasional passages, in which notes fewer than seven have been inserted, are only for the sake of diversion. The accompaniment certainly fulfils the gaps. But the reason for which a permanent place is kept for our Ṣāḍava and Aüḍava Rāgas is altogether different. We cannot dissociate ourselves from the Rāgas that utilise less than seven notes, unless we adopt a policy of harmonising our melodies on a European scale. But then, too, a system has to be evolved so as not to mar the purity of the mode. It must be emphasised that the European major mode is one of the many modes in India and not at all the most admired one. It has just been noticed by Mrs. Cousins.

In the history of a country, there is always to be found a period that makes an epoch for itself. During the same period, the development of all arts and sciences reaches the pinnacle of that country's achievements. And the contribution thus made to the store of knowledge is commemorated by successive generations through ages. The same period is the period of glory for that country and historians cannot separate the one from the other. To recollect the history of a nation is to recollect their accomplishments during a certain well-defined part of their existence. When we compare the present-day history of Europe, we at once remember the 16th century and a portion of the 17th century. This period has been the Golden Age for the Europeans, since the development of all artistic attainments reached its culminating point at this epoch. It reminds us of the names of some immortal sculptors, painters and musicians. Similar history has been known to occur in Hindusthan during the reigns of the Moguls and the Guptas and could be traced even to a remoter period, when, for instance, the epic poems: Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, were produced. The sculpture of Ellora, the painting of Ajanta, the carvings of Amravati and Sanchi, etc., bear excellent testimonials of the nation's achievements in respect of art ; and the development of these arts signifies that others, too, existed in other directions near about the same period. The more solid pieces of

craftsmanship have lived long enough to come down to us, because these could not easily be destroyed as canvas paintings, or books on music, or works on other fine arts, have probably been done away with by the numerous barbaric invasions. And if even according to the Western archæologists who have in many cases attempted to prove the lesser antiquity of the Hindu civilisation, two thousand years could be imputed to the life of these artistic attainments, where is the difficulty in supposing that they were produced a few centuries earlier ? This would push us backward to a period, if not earlier than that noted for Pythagorus's invention, at least "beyond the time of Aristoxenus to the fifth century B. C." And we know that grammarians came long after languages have been developed, and music is a language too. Mr. Fox Strangways observes also the same natural phenomenon:

> "...the official rules lagging decades or centuries behind the practice."

Even Mr. Sarkies has to admit:

> "I have for years past held the view that the melodies came first and then came along the theorist who explained it by inventing scale and Rāga for the benefit of students.

How then is it possible for the theorist Pythagorus to anticipate the scale without experiencing an existing one ? The Nāṭya Śāstra is the theoretical portion of the music that existed among the Aryans many centuries before the actual work was undertaken. Some might say that this is mere guesswork. But let us see what the erudite scholar, Dr. Farmer, has to say on this point:

> "...much good...work is based on guesswork at the start. Indeed, the key to the Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform script originated in a guess."

News and Views

[A monthly record of news and views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, events and movements in India and Abroad.]

Indians Win International Prizes

From India the following competitors have won the 2nd and 3rd prizes respectively in the 26th Centennial International Essay Contest commemorating the Founding of the Japanese Empire 660 B.C.—1940 A.D. sponsored by Kakusai Bunka Shinkokai (Society for International Cultural Relations), Tokyo, Japan.

2nd Prize—Dr. Sukumar Dutt, Principal, Ramjas College, Delhi.

3rd Prize—Mr. Digambak Kashinath Garde of Nagpur.

Rangpur College

Mr. Deva Prasad Ghosh has been appointed Principal of the Rangpur Carmichael College in place of Dr. D. N. Mallik, retired.

Mr. Ghosh was Senior Professor of Mathematics of the Ripon College, Calcutta.

Board for Anglo-Indian Education

The Director of Public Information, Bengal, in a Press Note, says:—

At the 30th meeting of the Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education, Bengal, held recently, Mr. J. M. Bottomley, C.I.E., I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, presided in the unavoidable absence of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister.

The Board considered among other things proposals for the improvement of the Cambridge Local Examinations and of the Higher Grade Schools Examinations as well as arrangements for the treatment of subnormal children and for special instruction in Bengali for likely candidates for the Bengal Civil Service Examinations.

The Chairman informed the Board that the Advocate-General had been asked whether money voted by the Provincial Legislature for Anglo-Indian and European education could be used for communities which did not conform to the definitions of Anglo-Indians and Europeans contained in Schedule I of the Government of India Act of 1935. The Advocate-General had replied to the effect that the clear purpose of Section 83 of the Act was to safeguard the continuance of the existing educational grants for the benefit of the "Anglo-Indian and European Communities," and, further, that for the proper ascertainment of the meaning of the phrase, it would be permissible to take into consideration who were the persons enjoying the grants previous to the Constitution Act.

A long and constructive discussion took place on technical education. Dr. Pandya, Principal of the Bengal Engineering College, who had been invited to be present at the meeting, was unanimously thanked for his helpful advice.

Researches on Jute Fibres

The relationship between fibre characters and the spinning quality of jute has been one of the most important objects of investigation in the technological research laboratories of the Indian Central Jute Committee ever since they were established about three years ago. A technological research report recently issued by the Committee embodies the provisional results of some experiments carried out on this subject.

The practical value of such work, states a Press *communique*, lies in several important directions. First, if spinning quality can be predicted from physical measurements made on the fibre, it will be possible to assess the quality of very small samples (say 8 lbs.). This is very important in connection with the work of breeding new strains of jute and agricultural experiments generally. Secondly, it will give information as to what characters in the fibre make for good quality and thus assist in breeding new jute strain of the best type. Lastly—but by no means of the least importance —results obtained from this investigation will help to lay the foundation of a scientific system of grading the fibre, which has yet to be evolved.

The report describes methods and instruments employed in the Committee's technological research laboratories for measuring the fineness, strength and flexibility of the fibre. Results obtained on a range of samples differing widely in quality show that it is possible to predict the quality of yarn that may be spun from any particular sample of fibre with fair accuracy on the basis of these fibre characters. In this way fibre may be graded into at least five classes with confidence. Further work is in progress embodying the measurement of other characters, and it is anticipated that it will be possible to work out an "index of fibre quality," on the basis of three or four characters, that will enable closer prediction of spinning quality to be made.

Summer School for Adults

Under the auspices of the Bihar Provincial Mass Literacy Committee an Adult Education Summer School will be opened at Ranchi in June when lectures on different subjects connected with adult education, industrial planning for India, forest wealth of Chotanagpur, improvement of agriculture and the defence of India will be delivered.

Paper from Water Hyacinth : Bengal Research

Valuable results are reported to have been obtained by Mr. M. A. Azam, of the Industrial Research Laboratory, Department of Industries, Government of Bengal, in his investigations regarding the utilization of water hyacinth in the manufacture of paper and pressed boards.

Mr. Azam, who has written an article on the subject in "Science and Culture," suggests that the plant, which is a serious menace to agriculture and to the health of the province, may be utilized as a raw material for manufacturing wrapping paper, writing paper and pressed boards.

A process of preparing pulp from the hyacinth has been worked out which, it is stated, may be followed on a cottage scale in the villages of Bengal.

The dried plant is also reported to have been found useful as fodder for cattle as its ashes possess good detergent properties.

Mr. Azam undertook the investigation mainly to find out some practical methods of utilization of the plant which could at the same time provide an incentive to those, who are directly affected by the scourge, for the eradication of the plant on a large scale.

New Building for Teachers' Society

The foundation stone of a building for the All-Bengal Teachers' Association was laid at Princep Street, Calcutta, by Sir Manmathanath Mukerji. The new building is to be a four-storied structure and will contain the offices of the Association, a library and a lecture hall.

Sir Manmathanath Mukerji said, the Association had a good record of work behind it and had done much to improve the condition of secondary education in this country.

Among those present were Dr. H. C. Mookerjee. Rev. A. Cameron, Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahman, Mr. Manoranjan Sengupta, Mr. A. N. Bose, Mr. J. C. Guha and Mr. R. M. Mukherjee.

Bangiya Sahitya Parishad

With effect from the 30th May, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Office remains open from 12 to 6-30 p.m., Thursdays excepted. The lending section of the library remains open from 4 to 6 p.m.

Miscellany

COMPULSORY SANITARY LEGISLATION

An attempt to carry out hygienic measures by beginning with the use of force gives rise to active and passive resistance which always accompany the enforcement of any law which is not supported by public opinion. Therefore any attempt to bring the people to a more hygienic manner of living should be made not by means of laws, but by educational measures. Although great patience and devotion are required of those who carry out such programs, the results obtained seem to be permanent and therefore repay the difficult work.

In the beginning of the work in Netherlands India there was much discussion concerning the use of force. Many thought that better results could be obtained in a shorter time by the use of laws and measures of force. In order to give all possible methods a trial and to satisfy those who supported these claims, a post in a certain residency was organized by a residency doctor and the campaign carried out on the basis of coercion. Law and ordinances were passed, and fines applied, but the work only received the passive resistance of the people. For example, in regard to the prevention of soil pollution, the people were compelled to build latrines, but they could not be compelled to use them. When, after a few months, it was realized that the desired results could not be secured in this way, methods of education were applied in some of the areas and in these places the people began gradually to use their latrines.

In other stations where only educational methods were used, the results obtained were much better. Fewer latrines were built and the areas under control were much smaller, but most of the latrines which were built under the educational methods, were used and well cared for. In other words, those who built latrines built them with the idea of using them. Later, after public opinion in these areas is strong enough, laws may be used to support and protect those who are trying to develop and follow hygienic habits.

It is, of course, possible to compel people who live in rural areas to build fences around their houses ; to exchange the thatched roofs of their houses for tiled roofs, to sweep their yards clean ; to build latrines or heed orders which can be carried out under direct supervision. However, people cannot be compelled to change their personal habits, as for example to use a latrine or to drink boiled water, unless the reasons for these changes in the habits have been thoroughly explained and they feel that the change is for their own good.

In conducting hygiene work in a city where conditions are quite different it is otten necessary to use force. For example, the construction of latrines in a city is primarily a question which concerns the municipal authorities and the house owner, and not the tenant of the house. People who live in a city gladly use latrines which have been furnished for them, because the yards are so small that soil or water pollution becomes unpleasant. Health education would, of course, help the carrying out of measures in a city, but force is necessary to protect those who are willing to live properly against those who live unhygienically.

Moreover, in a city it is possible with the help of the police or inspectors to carry out the details of laws and to secure results. In the rural areas the distances are too great and in densely populated areas the jails are not large enough to make the use of force possible.

Also it is, of course, necessary to use force temporarily for quarantine, and at times during epidemics, but in the rural areas coercion should be used only to carry out measures which have already secured the support and the co-operation of at least 90% of the people of that area.

In order to secure results in rural areas one must use methods which secure the active interest and the co-operation of the people and teach them measures which they themselves can carry out to protect their own health.

Proper food, proper amounts of vitamines, etc., concern the people of many cities and rural areas of many different countries, but no one can force these people to eat the proper foods. They must be taught that certain foods are good for them and their co-operation in regard to this question must be obtained.

There would be no objection whatever to the use of coercion if its use could secure permanent results. But it has been tried so often without success, and it is so much more difficult to secure the co-operation of the people after a failure due to the use of coercion that it is not advisable to begin with the use of force. Work should be begun with educational measures and coercion should be added only after the educational measures have built up a public opinion which is strong enough to give support to the measures of force.

Work based on coercion requires a large personnel to enforce all the rules and regulations and this makes it far too expensive.

If it were possible to secure results at a reasonable cost by coercion then conditions in all countries would be much better than they actually now are.—J. L. Hydrick: *Intensive Rural Hygiene Work in Netherlands India* (Batavia).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM *

Divested of its metaphysical verbiage, its scientific pretensions, and its theological dogmatism, Marxism, broadly viewed, can be epitomized in the moral precept: Treat human beings humanely, that is, treat men as moral ends in themselves, not simply as means to ends. Much of Marx's radical attack upon capitalist production has its roots in this very human protest against an economic order that systematically dehumanizes humanity, brutalizes it, and makes endemic the condition of *homo homini lupus*. And, surely, this moral appeal of Marxism is far more responsible for the sympathetic response with which it has been greeted for well nigh a century now than either its incomprehensible metaphysics or its involved economics. Many a Marxist can neither explain the operations of the dialectic nor calculate rates of surplus value. Of course, there is more to Marxism than this moral attack on man's inhumanity to man, but the

* *Le Matérialisme dialéctique.* By H. Lefebvre, Paris: Alcan, 1939, pp. 153, 15 francs.

The Materialist Conception of History: A Critical Analysis By Karl Federn, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939, pp. xiv plus 163, $3.50.

rest, if I may exploit Marxian categories, is ideology and superstructure. The dynamics of Marxism is this ardent affirmation, in a world in which it is so largely denied, of man's essential humanity.

This, I believe, is in part what Lefebvre is driving at in his complicated essay on dialectical materialism, especially in his emphasis on a "total humanism" with its deal of the "total man" who is "the free individual in the free community" (pp. 148-149) and Lefebvre's effort is to show how, in the doctrine of dialectical materialism, Marx has out-Hegeled Hegel—has, indeed, produced a system that "in a sense is more Hegelian than Hegelianism" (p. 86). A summary presentation of the contrast between Hegel's logic and the principles of formal logic is followed by a critique which reduces itself to the proposition that Hegal was not a true Hegelian in that, in contradiction to his own dialectical method, he erected a closed, formalistic, dogmatic, narcissistic and solitary universe born in his own speculative ambition and not corresponding to the "world of men in its dramatic reality." This criticism, Lafebvre maintains, coincides in broad outline with the critical views on Hegel expressed by Marx and Engels. He then proceeds to show how, in the process of surging beyond Hegel, Marx came first to historical materialism, and later, with the acceptance of the dialectical method which he had previously rejected, to dialectical materialism (p. 63). Thus, in its very formulation, dialectical materialism had a dialectical development (p. 83). The second part of Lefebvre's essay is devoted to a dialectical analysis of the relations of man to production, nature, society, and the human.

Since dialectical materialism is the central theme of this essay, one would naturally expect the author to shed light on the meaning of this difficult concept. But Lefebvre not only fails to clarify, he reveals a positive ability to multiply confusion. Moreover, some Marxist will object to his attempt to reaffirm the Hegelian dialectics of Marxism while at the same time denying the "economism" of Marxian thought. Korsch recently referred to the efforts to preserve within the materialistic scheme of Marxism the philosophical dialectics of Hegel as "neither fish, nor fowl, not good red herring."

Federn's volume is a critical polemic against the materialist conception of history as defined by Marx in the Introduction to the *Critique of Political Economy*. Federn considers, in order, the primacy of the productive forces, the relation of social, political, and intellectual life to the mode of production, the application of the Marxian view to social revolutions, the theory of historical epochs, dialectics, and the doctrine of necessity. A final chapter presents in cursory form Federn's own theory of history, which he summarizes as follows: "Production is due to need; the methods of production depend solely on the degree of intellectual development attained by mankind; Power and Intellect combine to determine who is to do the work as well as the distribution of the product. Intellect and Power appear to be the two causal factors which, all through history, determined the economic and political state of mankind" (p. 253). These are undoubtedly rash words, but Federn promises a forthcoming volume in which he will attempt their justification.

Federn's critical attack consists mainly of confronting Marx with Tarde. The French sociologist, it will be re-called, based his social logic on desires and beliefs and erected a sociological system in which primary importance is assigned to the processes of invention and imitation, to creative genius, to the effective and intellectual aspects of human life. Federn's approach

is essentially Tardean. From the outset he insists on the intellectual and mental nature of what the Marxists call the material and productive forces. This, he feels, vitiates the Marxian theses. But it is significant to note, in this connection, that G. D. H. Cole, who knows what Marx really meant, maintains that Marx's phrase "productive forces" refers not to forces of matter as opposed to mind but to "the result of mind's action upon matter," and that the term "materialist" embodies in Marxian thought "the fullest recognition of the conscious determining power of the mind.". If this be what Marx really meant Federn is struggling with imaginary windmills.

The major, but by no means original, contribution of Federn's polemic is his calling attention to the "deplorable vagueness and indistinctness" of Marxian terminology, to the semantic difficulties of the Marxists deriving from their reification of social categories, to the tautological and equivocal nature of Marx's formulations, to the fact that Marx did not always agree with Marx and that Marxists are sometimes guilty of historical errors, and to the Marxian underestimation of the rôle of genius. Particularly annoying in Federn is his adherence to an outmoded Spencerian anthropology.—Harry Alpert in the *American Sociological Review* (Oct., 1940).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Pakisthan: A Nation.—By El Hamza. Published by Sk. Mahammad Ashraf, Publisher, Kashmiri Gate, Lahore. Pp. 135, 1940. Price Rs. 3.

This is a well got-up book and contains 26 maps which are very useful in following up the arguments of the author. He starts by calling the attention of his readers to the diversity and size of India and gradually leads up to the view that North-Western India though included inside India is a distinct unit. This he proves by reference to various economic facts and figures all drawn from well-authenticated sources. It is noteworthy that he has nothing to say so far as the Pakisthan of North-East India is concerned. This may be due to the fact that he has no personal knowledge of this particular area.

As one reads the book, one is convinced about the genuineness of the feelings of the author and admires the lucidity with which he advances his arguments. No student of the Pakisthan theory can afford to neglect this book. It is desirable that those who hold contrary views should make an attempt at answering the arguments put forward by the author.

The regrettable feature in the Pakisthan scheme even in the modified form put forward by this author is the disinclination to recognise the presence in Indian life to-day of certain very important factors which are working slowly but surely to unite us into one nation and this in spite of the existence of the forces of disintegration in many and varied forms.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Grave Danger to the Hindus.—An Address by "An obscure Hindu." Published by the "Harbinger Office," Puthiyara, Malabar, South India, and 'dedicated without permission' to Gandhiji, Jawaharlalji and Raja Gopalachariarji. Pp. 274, 1940. Price 1-8.

This book consisting of a series of private talks to a few friends appeared originally in the form of successive articles in the weekly "Harbinger" of Calicut. The book falls under certain broad headings the first of which deals with Pakisthan. This is followed by chapters dealing with the Princes, the religious heads of Hinduism, our fundamental unity, our womanhood, etc. The chapters, which have proved most interesting to the reviewer, are those which deal with Pakisthan, Ahimsa and Communalism.

In the opinion of the reviewer, the views of the "Obscure Hindu" with regard to all these matters deserve our respectful consideration. A militant Hindu, he has naturally enough been tempted to the use of rather vigorous language in condemning the Pakisthan idea. This may have the effect of antagonising some of our Mussalman brethren from a careful and impartial consideration of the very logical arguments he has advanced against what has been called the vivisection of India. There can, however, be little doubt that those who advocate "Pakisthan" owe it to themselves to study this book and to meet the objections put forward by the author.

The views regarding Ahimsa offered by the writer are characterised by a lack of appreciation of the spirit underlying it. As interpreted by

Gandhiji and practised by him and his genuine followers, Ahimsa makes higher demands on its votaries than the ordinary type of warfare. The reviewer is not a Congressman but he has little doubt that fighting injustice and oppression of every type through Ahimsa is ultimately a more satisfactory method of getting rid of them than older methods the utter futility of which has been proved by the experience of the world which now covers thousands of years.

Patriotic Hindus would do well to study carefully the remarks of the author on those shortcomings of their social organisation which are depriving this great community of much of its influence, prestige and power.

The reviewer is grateful to the author for the very kind and sympathetic way in which he has referred to the community to which he belongs.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Sri Sri Hari Lilamrita.—By Tarak Chandra Sarkar. Published by Mahananda Haldar, B.L., Bagerhat, Khulna. Pp. 325. Price Rs. 2-8.

This classic of the sect known as the Matua Samaj is more than a mere reprint of the original work published many years ago by Srijut Tarak Chandra Sarkar. In this new edition of a book, long out of print, the matter has been re-arranged conveniently into certain sections dealing with the different stages in the life of the founder of this sect. Additions from old family records have been incorporated in the original text and some unnecessary materials dropped.

In the note supplied by the publisher, the reader is given some information regarding the genealogy of Sri Sri Hari Thakur from which it appears that he was a Maithili Brahmin who after visiting the different places of pilgrimage in India settled down in Jessore. He came to know that the Namasudra community was also descended from the same Brahminical stock and that a majority of them had become converts to Buddhism. When the tide had turned and they wanted to re-enter the Hindu fold, the Brahmins of the day forced them to occupy a very low place in Hindu society. Identifying himself with this oppressed community, he married his children inside the Namasudra community and came to be recognised as their leader.

Sri Sri Hari Thakur was the seventh in descent from this great man and was an ardent devotee of Srj Krishna. His piety and the interpretation he gave to this cult won him thousands of followers with the result that to-day the sect has a following of nearly five lakhs. It has its own organ, a Bengali monthly, "Anant-Bijoy," the aim of which is not only the propagation of the doctrines of this sect but also the removal of those regrettable social barriers which are destroying Hindu solidarity. The present head of the movement is Mr. Promotho Ranjan Thakur, M.A., Barrister-at-law, M.L.A., great-grandson of Sri Sri Hari Thakur, who is carrying on the work of the ancestor.

Written in very simple Bengali so as to be easily understood by the ordinary man, this book gives a vivid picture of one of the great religious revivalists of one aspect of Hinduism. It should be welcome not only to the admirers and followers of this great reformer and *Bhakta* but also to those who take interest in the sociology and culture of Bengal.

Printed on very good paper, the book contains a number of valuable pictures.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Rajbansi Kshatriya Jatir Itihas.—By Mr. Upendra Nath Barman, B.L., M.L.A., Jalpaiguri, Bengal. Pp. 80. Price Re. 1.

This book gives an account of the Rajbansis at present included by Government among the Scheduled Castes and who claim Kshatriya descent. This community has settled in parts of North Bengal, Assam and Bihar, and numbers about 23 lakhs. There cannot be any doubt that the majority among them are backward educationally and economically. It was in 1891 that the census authorities included the members of the Koch and the Rajbansi communities under one category. This was resented and agitation started by a leader of the community, the late Rai Sahib Panchanon Barman, M.A., B.L., M.B.E., M.L.C. It was then that inquiries were made regarding the origins of this great community. The book under review carries this work a step further. The author has laid under contribution not only the Hindu Shastras and standard works on history but also the publications of different departments of both the Government of India and the Government of Bengal and in the process revealed his industry and his wide learning.

This book should prove interesting not only to the Rajbansi community which, according to the author, belongs to the Kshatriya community, but to every one interested in ethnology and sociology.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Ourselves

[*I. The Seventeenth Death Anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.—II. Recruitment of Officers.—III. University Representative on the State Faculty of Unani Medicine, Bengal.—IV. The Fiftieth Anniversary of Chicago University.—V. The Maharaja Manindrachandra College, Calcutta.—VI. Affiliation to Colleges in New Subjects.—VII. A New D.Sc.*]

I. The Seventeenth Death Anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

The seventeenth death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee fell on Sunday, the 25th May, 1941. At 7 o'clock in the morning there was a meeting at Chowringhee Square, Calcutta, at the foot of Sir Asutosh's statue, where Sir M. N. Mookerji presided. Another commemoration meeting was held at the Darbhanga Building, Calcutta University, in the evening with the Hon'ble Sir M. Azizul Huque, Khan Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor, as president, who gave an address in Bengali paying homage to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh. Sanskrit hymns, specially composed for the occasion by Pundit Asoknath Sastri, were sung.

The bust of Sir Asutosh at the head of the marble stairs, in the Darbhanga Building was garlanded by the President as well as by numerous admirers. Large quantities of incense were burnt. There was a distinguished gathering representing all sections of the Public.

At the end of the proceedings, there was Kirtan song, which lasted uutil about 8 p.m.

* * *

II. Recruitment of Officers

A circular announcing vacancies to men of the right type to act as Viceroy's Commissioned Officers and His Majesty's Commissioned Officers, issued from the Headquarters, Presidency & Assam District, Fort William, Calcutta, has been sent to the colleges affiliated to this University. This circular is the result of a meeting between the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the District Commander for discussing

the subject of Recruitment of Officers for His Majesty's Indian Land Forces.

* * *

III. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON THE STATE FACULTY OF UNANI MEDICINE, BENGAL

Mr. T. Ahmed, M.B., D.O.M.S., F.R.C.S., F.S.M.F. (Bengal), will be a representative of this University on the General Council and State Faculty of Unani Medicine, Bengal. The Hon'ble Sir M. Azizul Huque, Kt., C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A., Khan Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor, was appointed earlier as a representative of the University on the same body, of which he is now the President.

* * *

IV. THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF CHICAGO UNIVERSITY

Dr. John B. Grant, M.D., M.P.H., has been appointed a delegate to represent this University on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the University of Chicago which will be celebrated in the last week of September, 1941.

* * *

V. THE MAHARAJA MANINDRACHANDRA COLLEGE, CALCUTTA

Recommendation has been made by the Syndicate that the College may be affiliated in the following subjects to the Intermediate and the B.A. standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1941-42 :—

English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Pali, Logic, History, Civics, Mathematics, Commercial Arithmetic, Commercial Geography and Elements of Book-Keeping to the I.A. Standard.

English (Pass and Honours), Bengali (Vernacular), Economics (Pass), History (Pass), Philosophy (Pass) and Sanskrit (Pass) to the B.A. standard.

* * *

VI. AFFILIATION TO COLLEGES IN NEW SUBJECTS

The Syndicate has made recommendation to the Senate that the undermentioned colleges may be granted affiliation, in subjects noted

against the name of each, with effect from the commencement of the next session, in addition to the courses of study which they had previously adopted.

The St. Paul's College (Darjeeling)—Elements of Civics and Economics to the Intermediate standard.

The Union Christian Training College (Berhampur, Bengal)—B.T. standard with provision that admissions should not exceed twenty students.

The Narasinha Dutt College (Howrah)—English, Bengali (Compulsory), History, Philosophy, Economics and Sanskrit to the B.A. pass standard and Biology to I.A. and I.Sc. standards.

The Cotton College (Gauhati)—Botany up to the B.A. and B.Sc. standard and Zoology to the Intermediate standard in Arts and Science.

The Ripon College (Calcutta)—B.Com. standard in English Composition, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Accountancy, Commercial Law, General Economics, Business Organization, Commercial Geography, Advanced Accountancy, Auditing, Trade, Tariff and Transports, Banking and Currency, Public Administration and Public Finance.

The College has also been informed that in the event of its obtaining affiliation in the subjects noted above, it may hold the B.Com. classes in the evening.

The Women's College (Sylhet)—English, Bengali (Compulsory and Second Language), Sanskrit, Persian, Mathematics, History, Elements of Civics and Economics to the Intermediate standard in Arts.

The Jessore College—English, Bengali (Compulsory), Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Mathematics, History, Logic and Elements of Civics and Economics to the I. A. standard.

The Fazlul Huq College (Chakhar, Barisal)—English, Bengali (Compulsory), History, Mathematics, Economics, Philosophy, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian to the B.A. Pass standard.

The Lady Brabourne College (Calcutta)—English, Bengali (Compulsory), Urdu (Vernacular), Mathematics, Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Botany and Biology to the Intermediate standard in Arts and Science.

The Haraganga College (Munshiganj, Dacca)—General Economics, Indian Economics, Commercial Law, Business Organisation, Commercial Geography, Accountancy, English Composition and Prècis Writing, Bengali, Public Administration. Public Finance, Accountancy

and Auditing, Banking and Currency, Land Systems, Agricultural Economics, Economic History and Modern Industrial Organisation with special reference to India to the B. Com. standard.

The Loreto House—to the B.T. standard.

The Lady Brabourne College—English (Pass and Honours), Vernacular (Bengali and Urdu), Bengali (Second Language—Pass), Urdu (Second Language), History (Pass), Mental and Moral Philosophy (Pass), Political Economy and Political Philosophy (Pass), Mathematics (Pass), Arabic (Pass) and Persian (Pass) to the B.A. standard.

* * *

VII. A New D.Sc.

Mr. Dilipkumar Banerjee, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science by a thesis entitled, "(*a*) Synthetic Investigations on the Degradation Products of Bile Acids ; (*b*) Synthetic Investigations on the Degradation Products of Sex-Hormones ; and (*c*) Synthetic Investigations in the Terpene Series," which was examined by a board consisting of Professors R. P. Linstead, F.R.S., Robert Robinson, F.R.S., and Samuel Smiles, F R.S.

We congratulate Dr. Banerjee on his success.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions, by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 140+vi.

Rabindra Sahityer Bhumika, by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt.Phil., Dip.Lib., F.L.A. Royal 8vo pp. 490+15. Rs. 3-0.

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The History of Indian Labour Legislation (Readership Lectures), by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M.A., Ph.D. D/Demy 16mo pp. 378+xv+11.

Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and Other Papers, by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 226+ix. Rs. 2-0.

Poetry, Monads and Society (*Sir George Stanley Lectures*, 1941), by Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 204 + x. Rs. 3-0.

Dharma Sadhana, by Sm. Swarna Prabha Sen, B.A., B.T. Demy 8vo pp. 113 + 9. Re. 1.

Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*), by Mr. Charuchandra Datta, I.C.S. (Retd.). Demy 8vo pp. 373 + 4. Rs. 1-12.

Hegeler Darsanik Matabad, by Mr. Nagendranath Sengupta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 98 + 13. Re. 1-0.

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Gitar Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray. Demy 8vo pp. 198. Re. 1-0.

Upanisader Alo (Revised Edition), by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 668.

Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 426. Rs. 2-0.

Books in the Press

JUNE, 1941

1. Gleanings from My Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. Philosophical Essays, by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
4. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, edited by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
5. Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Studies in the History of British in India, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1939.
10. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
11. University Question Papers, 1937.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Negative Fact: Negation and Truth, by Dr. Adharchandra Das, M.A., Ph.D.
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc., and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Nyayamanjari, Part II, edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkavagis.
19. Prohibitions in the Kali Age, by Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharyya.

20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.
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23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Litt.
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27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by Late Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
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43. Vedantadarsan—Advaitabad, by Dr. Asutosh Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.
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45. Raisekharer Padavali, edited by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Dwareschandra Sarmacharyya.
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49. Padma Puran, by Kabi Narayan Deb, edited by Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
50. Haramani, by Mr. M. Mansuruddin, M.A.
51. Lectures on Fuels and Furnace (*Extension Lectures*), by Dr. A. K. Saha, D.Sc.
52. The Development of Hindu Iconography, by Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A.
53. University Regulations.
54. Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, by Dewan Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ph.D.
55. Selected Inscriptions of Different Periods, by Dr. Dineshchandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
56. Jiban Maitrer Padmā. Puran, edited by Mr. Sambhucharan Chaudhuri.
57. University Question Papers, 1938.
58. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement, 1938.
59. Krishna Kanter Will, by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

I. INDIAN CULTURE

A History of Indian Literature, by M. Winternitz, Ph.D. *Translated* into English from the original German *by* Mrs. S. Ketkar and *revised by the Author. The only Authorised Translation into English.*

This monumental work of the late Prof. Winternitz is too well-known to need any introduction to the public. In order to make it accessible to those interested in Indian Literature but not well-versed in German, the Calcutta University undertook the publication of an English version. In order to bring the work up to date the author revised the whole work for the English translation. Many chapters have been re-written entirely, smaller changes, corrections and additions have been made almost on every page and the more important publications of the last twenty years have been added to the references in the Notes. Thus the English translation is at the same time a second, revised and improved edition of the original work.

Vols. I and II are the translations of the original German works with notes *revised by the author* and published during his lifetime. The sections of Indian Literature not covered by the two volumes already published will be dealt with in a separate volume which is under preparation.

Vol. I. Introduction, the Veda, the National Epics, the Puranas and the Tantras. *Demy 8vo pp. 653. Rs. 10-8.*

Vol. II. Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature. *Demy 8vo pp. 673. Rs. 12-0.*

Some Problems of Indian Literature (*Readership Lectures delivered at the University*), by the same author. *Royal 8vo pp. 130. Rs. 2-8.*

Contents:—The Age of the Veda—Ascetic Literature in Ancient India—Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry—Indian Literature and World-Literature—Kautiliya Arthasastra—Bhasa.

Sino-Indica, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit.

Dr. Bagchi has undertaken a series of publications called *Sino-Indica*. The work is a study of Chinese documents relating to India. As the researches were begun in France, the volumes had to be written in French.

Vol. I. Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I (In French). Royal 8vo pp. lii+436. Rs. 15-0.

It is the first systematic work which deals with the history of translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese and their translators. The work contains the biographies of all Indian, Iranian, Sogdian and other monks who went to China in the early centuries of the Christian era. A history of their activities, as preserved in the Chinese documents, is given. The first part covers a period of six hundred years, first century A.D. to sixth century (589) A.D.

Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome I.—" The author has brought together everything he could on the biographical notices of the translators and gives a register of their works. The large number of references to the literature that might come in question is to be specially congratulated. . . This assiduous work will have the recognition everywhere which it deserves. (Translated from German.—*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, **1929, 2.**)

" His important work does honour to him and his teachers . . . a fresh proof of the eminent talents of the Bengali race." (From French—*Revue Bibliographique*, 1928, October, Bruxelles.)

" An important contribution. . . . There are some of the important informations from this historical study with which it is full." (From French —*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques.*)

" Work of great value that makes an important contribution to the history of Chinese Buddhism." (From French—*Chronique d'Histoire des Religions.*)

" He has been able to bring out this first volume of a *magnum opus* which vindicates once more the importance of Buddhism in the history of India and testifies to the sound preparation of the author. . . . This is a schematical history of the spread of Buddhism and, with it, of Indian culture into China . . . . One of the best achievements of Buddhistic scholarship, the first contribution of young India to the systematic and comparative study of Buddhism."—*Prof. G. Tucci (Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 2).

Vol. II. Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome I. Double Crown 8vo pp. 336. Rs. 15-0.

It is a critical edition of two ancient Sanskrit-Chinese lexicons of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., compiled by a Ser-Indian monk, Li-yen, and a Chinese monk, the famous Yi-tsing. The work has been enriched with notes added by Prof. Paul Pelliot, Membre de l'Institut de France, Professor in College de France.

Vol III. Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois, Tome II. Double Crown 8vo pp. 204. Rs. 15-0.

The second part of the *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois* contains a detailed study of five Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries which have been preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka. These are—the *Fan yu tsa ming* of Li-yen, the *Fan yu ts'ien tseu wen* of Yi-tsing, the *T'ang fan wen tseu* of Ts'iuan-tchen, the *Fan T'ang siao si* and the *T'ang fan leeng yu chouang touei tsi*, all of which were compiled in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Dr. Bagchi has discussed the problems raised by these vocabularies, their authenticity, the biography of the authors, the Prakritic, Iranian, and Central Asiatic elements in the vocabulary, the method of Chinese transcription, etc. A detailed Chinese-Sanskrit index containing more than two thousand words supplies the basis for future Sino-Sanskrit lexicographical works.

This work is of capital interest to students of Buddhism, of Indian history, to Sinologists, to linguists and to all those who are interested in the early history of cultural exchange between China and India.

Vol. IV. Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Tome II. Royal 8vo pp. 306. Rs. 15-0.

It contains a history of the Chinese Buddhist literature from the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D.

The work will be completed with detailed indexes in a separate volume which is now in the press.

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore. *Demy 8vo pp. 192.* (Slightly *damaged*). *Reduced price Rs. 4-8.*

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